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IRO TŪWAHI WISAHMA NAHA: THE SEVENTH GENERATION, UNDERSTANDING
JIWERE LANGUAGE STATUS AND RECLAMATION THROUGH COMMUNITY INPUT

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DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY

BY THE COMMITTEE CONSISTING OF

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For Hína, Dad and Jamie, Papa and Joey, my aunties and uncles, my brothers and sisters, and
most of all, for those no longer with us.

For every single Jiwere, Nut'achi, or Baxoje person, may the prayers of our ancestors guide you
in the right direction and keep you safe.

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Abstract

Although several scholars have focused their work on Jiwere (Otoe) and related dialects of Chiwere, no published descriptions have come directly from members of the speech community themselves. This lack of self-determination and autonomy of community members in research into the language has resulted in an incomplete view of the true language status. Classified as “dormant” since the passing of the last “fluent” speaker, Truman Washington Daily, in 1996, the language boasts a larger heritage community than has been reported to date. Furthermore, despite a current lack of first language speakers with whom to use the language, community members’ active interest and involvement in revitalization suggests a less bleak situation than was previously reported.

This study uses survey data to present a more complete, community-driven picture of the language’s current status, and examines community members’ ideas about language, identity, motivation, investment, and achievement. Data come from a survey of and interviews with young Jiwere adults (18-30 years of age) about their relationship to the language, as well as from the Otoe-Missouria Tribal Historic Preservation Office's Community Cultural Interest Survey. The study found that community members believe that Jiwere identity is strongly tied to knowledge contained in the language, including clan descendency, songs, and the ability to use the language itself. Since ability to use the language is tied to identity, community members would like language curriculum and pedagogical materials which help them connect with other learners in various contexts such as online classes, videos, and community classes focused on topics that encourage daily speech. Results suggest that, contrary to prior depictions of the language’s status, a more hopeful definition than “dormant” is appropriate. The study ties survey

data to what is known about language and identity to argue for a more robust definition which includes community perspectives.

Chapter 1: Introduction

Ethnologue, self-described as the “most authoritative resource on world languages,” describes the Iowa-Oto (or Chiwere) language group as “dormant,” meaning that the language “serves as a reminder of heritage identity for an ethnic community, but no one has more than symbolic proficiency.”¹ As a heritage learner of *Jiwere*² (Otoe) a dialect of Chiwere, along with *Nut’achi* (Missouria) and *Baxoje* (Iowa), that description evokes a discouraging feeling and a dismal outlook for the future. The Jiwere language, language reclamation, and language revitalization are more than subjects of study to me; they are lived experiences. When I write about these topics, I write from the perspective of a Jiwere-Nut’achi and Baxoje woman who comes from a family deeply connected to our culture, language, and history. It is impossible to separate myself from these subjects because they are part of my daily life and personal story, thus it is my responsibility to carry it on and not just as my subject of academic research. This responsibility has been carried on through the generations of my family. I am part of the seventh generation of my family since my ancestors met Meriwether Lewis and William Clark at current day Council Bluffs, Iowa in August of 1804.

Growing up, I listened to my mom tell me stories about our family and what it meant to be raised in the Jiwere way. For our family, it was knowing our clan *mąnkoge* (owl) and our responsibilities, our beliefs about spirits, our kinship system, and our lineage. When I was in elementary school away from Oklahoma, I remember playing on a swing set with my non-Native friends telling them I descended from Jiwere leaders, because that’s what my mom told me. We

¹ David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons, and Charles D. Fennig eds., “Iowa-Oto” in *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*, 22nd ed., (Dallas, Texas: SIL International, 2019). <http://www.ethnologue.com>.

² *Jiwere* [jee-WEH-ray or JEE-weh-ray] (Otoe)

often visited museums to view the coats that were created as part of my great-great-grandfather *Wanáshe*'s traditional movement.³ I would stare at the intricate beadwork designs on the navy wool military jackets and wonder to myself, "Why aren't these at our house with our Indian clothes?" My mom would explain that when our people didn't have any money in the early 1900s, they would sell their regalia and Indian clothes to whites for small sums of money that would allow them to survive a little while longer. Because they were sold and not taken forcefully, the coats and other items that were sold by the owners or their families are not eligible for repatriation under the Indigenous Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA). *Wanáshe*'s traditional movement emerged in the 1880s when the Jiwere and Nut'achi people were confronted with the reality of significant cultural destruction and the influence of the Ghost Dance, Peyote Ceremony, and other outside rituals. While ill sometime before 1891, *Wanáshe* had a dream in which he went to the "place where gods dwell." As related by David Wooley and William T. Waters, while in the god-dwelling place, *Wanáshe* came upon two young men who had been dressed for ceremony. The first young man told him to be mindful of *Wakánda*⁴ while the other said to him, "You think you will die, but you will not. I shall take away your disease." As this young man talked to *Wanáshe*, a cedar tree "grew beside him." *Wanáshe* also saw birds flying around him and "heard their songs."⁵

When *Wanáshe* recovered, he began encouraging Jiwere and Nut'achi people to return to our traditions and reject assimilation into white society. *Wanáshe* wanted his people to return to traditional values of honesty, compassion, justice, fellowship, and, to stop consuming alcohol.

³ *Wanáshe* [wah-NAH-sheh] meaning 'Takes from Them' possibly referring to his fever dream or vision.

⁴ *Wakánda* [wah-KAH_n-dah] (Creator, God)

⁵ David Wooley and William T. Waters, "Waw-no-she's Dance," *American Indian Art Magazine* 14, no. 1 (Winter 1988), 38.

Huge swaths of our communities were taken by foreign diseases, the animals and plants we relied on for food were systematically destroyed, and our people starved because our rations weren't being fulfilled by the government. Leaders of tribal communities knew their people were losing significant knowledge, traditions, cultural practices, and language. I include these anecdotes to not only impart the personal importance of this subject onto my audience and situate myself in the narrative that I am presenting here, but also to recognize that this is the history and position from which I am approaching language reclamation in my community.

As it stands, adults in the Jiwere-Nut'achi community—whether they live in Red Rock or elsewhere—have few dedicated functional language curriculums or communicative contexts in which they are given the appropriate or adequate level of instruction and practice to produce progressive skill acquisition. Classes are often short term and there are few accessible resources on the internet. By accessible, I mean that the resources should not require extra research or acquisition of knowledge about linguistics or grammar by the learner *and* that it is easily locatable and usable by learners across platforms, locations, and otherwise. Gaps in this field of research also include qualitative assessments, such as how learners *feel* about the language, their thoughts about their identities as Jiwere/Nut'achi/Baxoje people, their motivations for learning the language and cultural traditions, how they define success and achievement and if knowing their culture and language affects success and achievement.

Of the available research and scholarship concerning the Jiwere/Baxoje language and communities, this same gap in curriculum and contexts exists. Those who documented, wrote about and studied Jiwere/Baxoje have brought the language to the point it is at now – ready for full curriculum to be developed and disseminated to its people. For example, missionaries and agents in the nineteenth century – such as James Owen Dorsey, Albert Green, William Hamilton,

Samuel Irvin, and Moses Merrill – documented the languages, providing modern-day Jiwere-Nut’achi and Baxoje people with a large corpus of grammars, hymn books, Christian texts, and vocabulary slips. In the twentieth century, Dr. Lila Wistrand Robinson and Jimm Garrett Goodtracks worked with community members to produce two books geared towards self-study of the language. Mr. Goodtracks went on to create a dictionary and other resources from which learners can study. Dr. Jill D. Greer worked with Dr. Louanna Furbee as a graduate student, eventually writing a dissertation on Jiwere/Baxoje Native American Church Songs, countless papers about legends, stories, the Jiwere-Nut’achi Flag Song, and recently, a more accessible grammar sketch than the grammars of the 1800s. Dr. Greer worked closely with community members and maintained ties with those who participated in her research and documentation. There are also many community members whose tireless work produced classes, vocabulary lists, recordings, and lessons that are still used today. These resources are mostly unknown or unavailable to those who were not alive to witness or experience them during the time of their creation or those who have access to the existing copies. Those community members are people like Truman and Lizzie Washington Dailey, Joe Younge, Sr., Bill Tohee, and Franklin Murray.

In 2017, the Otoe-Missouria Tribal Historic Preservation Office (OMTHPO) conducted a survey regarding cultural interest which produced data and statistics regarding cultural and linguistic identity, language ideologies, attitudes, and involvement. Youth in the Red Rock community who attended Otoe-Missouria Head Start or Frontier Public Schools during their life (in the past ten years) have likely had experience with learning the Jiwere language in either a formal or informal setting, which is at odds with the language status as described by the Ethnologue entry.

This study will use quantitative data such as demographics, community and school statistics, etc. to assess the language status of Jiwere. The research consisted of online surveys about young adult feelings about language, success/achievement, motivation/investment, and their Indigenous identity; The research aims to answer questions of how young adults feel about learning the Jiwere language, if learning Jiwere helps them feel like they are more connected with the Jiwere community, how much of a factor their ethnic, cultural, and linguistic identity is in their motivation to learn Jiwere, and if they feel learning Jiwere or being culturally involved is connected to their success or achievement. I am asking these questions because I want to understand the true language status of our community.

Community Background

Within the tribal community, the language is known as Jiwere. The last fluent speakers of Jiwere were siblings Elizabeth Washington Dailey Harper and Truman Washington Dailey, children of George Washington Dailey. Truman Dailey spent his later life teaching language classes in Red Rock and helped preserve and document our language. He testified in committees about topics such as the ceremonial use of *máŋka ruje* (peyote), feathers and other natural objects, and religious freedom. According to Mr. Dailey, Otoe refers to *uto* (fog) (see example 1) based on the blue-green tinge to the cloudiness of fog. The Otoe-Missouria Web Dictionary notes, “He cites this context with a story on how the Ioways gave the name *Uto* to the Otoes based on their use of fog for cover during battle.”

(1)

u-to
LOC-blue/green
‘fog’

Alternatively, *Otoe* has been said to have its origins in the Jiwere words *wadu* (copulate, make love) and *dq̄nra* (very, great) which combine to form *wadota* among other variants (see *watota* below). The stories, in one way, shape, or form label Otoes as great lovers.

Language Family

Jiwere belongs to the Siouan language family, with the most closely related language being *Ho Tąnge* (Hocąk/Winnebago). Dhegihan languages such as *Ką̄nǰa* (Kaánze/Kaw), *Wáraye* (Wazhazhe/Osage), *Pą̄nką* (Pańka/Ponca), and *Umáha* (Umońhoń/Omaha) are the next closest relatives to Jiwere. These Siouan languages are primarily spoken in Oklahoma, Kansas, Nebraska, North and South Dakota, as well as Wisconsin and Minnesota.⁶

To academics and linguists—the language group is known as Chiwere. James Owen Dorsey, an ethnologist, linguist, and Episcopalian missionary, greatly contributed to the description of Chiwere and Dhegihan languages. In Dorsey’s notes from his time with the community, he writes, “An Otoe challenged in the dark on his own land will reply ‘*Ciwére nyi ké-i*, I am a ‘Ciwére’; on Ioway land, or Omaha land he would say ‘*Watóta nyi ké-i*, I am an Otoe.’⁷ *Ciwére* is written as *Jiwere* in the modern orthography, meaning ‘belonging to the people of the land with their own people.’ The same concept applies to Iowa people. For example, on Iowa land, an Iowa person would say ‘*Jegiwere nyi ki*,’ or ‘I am belonging to the people of this land here, I am with my own people.’ On others’ land, ‘*Baxoje nyi ki*.’ *Baxoje* is said to mean ‘dusty nose’ or ‘dusty head’ or perhaps ‘gray snow.’ *Jiwere* and *Jegiwere* seem to be self-referential while on one’s own land while Otoe and Ioway/Baxoje are the names determined by

⁶ Douglas R. Parks and Robert L. Rankin, “The Siouan Languages,” in *Handbook of North American Indians*, 1st ed., vol. 13 (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution, 2001), 94-114.

⁷ Manuscript 4800 James O. Dorsey papers, National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution.

other groups or as a way to identify one's self outside of one's community. The English *Iowa/Ioway* comes from *Aiouez*, the French spin on Dakota and Lakota's *ayuh̃ba* and *ayuh̃wa* respectively, or 'one who puts to sleep.' It was not uncommon for Europeans to label tribes by the names other tribes had relayed to them. Additionally, it is unknown if the Lakota and Dakota were referring to the ability to calm, the state of being sleepy, or if the Baxoje were just boring company.

It is not known what a Missouria would say on their own land, perhaps '*Nu'tachi nyi ki.*' There is some discussion in the community about if Missouria or Nut'achi should be used in conjunction with *Otoe-* or *Jiwere-* as well, since there are no "full-blood" Nut'achi people left. However, it is worth noting that there are many people of Jiwere descent who also have some Nut'achi ancestry.

The largest concentration of Jiwere-Nut'achi people is located in Oklahoma, mostly near Red Rock, where the government is headquartered. The tribe operates 5 casinos in north central Oklahoma, 2 financial services companies, 2 convenience stores, a hotel, an event center, a propane company, a cattle company, and an online gift shop. The tribal community is located in north central Oklahoma south of Ponca City and north of Stillwater on US Route 177. The town of Red Rock is located off US Route 177 at State Highway 18 going west while the tribal government and services complex, Seven Clans Casino, Shell gas station, encampment grounds, 'the Village' (HUD housing), and Blue Meadows tribal housing development are clustered along US Route 177.

The business enterprises are controlled by the Otoe-Missouria Development Authority (OMDA), comprised of the Board of Directors: tribal chairman John R. Shotton, Lester Harragarra, and Sylvester Alley. The OMDA is the official enterprise and economic

development offshoot of the tribe, created by the Otoe-Missouria Tribal Council in July of 2006 under the passage of the Amended and Restated Otoe-Missouria Development Act of 2006. The mission of the OMDA is to serve tribal members and assist the tribe in becoming self-sufficient through the operation and development of revenue sources to provide for the tribe's present and future needs.

The Otoe-Missouria Tribal Council is the elected governing body of the tribe; the duties of the council are to enforce tribal laws and policies and serve as the decision-making authority on budgets and investments. The council oversees the tribal government administration which ensures that services are provided to tribal members. The council consists of seven members who are elected by secret ballot by qualified tribal voters. The tribal council is made up of seven positions: chairperson (John R. Shotton), vice-chairperson (Ted Grant), secretary (Darrell Kihega), treasurer (Courtney Burgess), first member (Wesley J. Hudson), second member (Myra Pickering), and third member (Alvin Moore). The tribal council terms are staggered and last for three years. Additionally, there are no term limits on any position. Council member duties and responsibilities are enumerated in the Otoe-Missouria Tribe of Indians Constitution. The council holds regular meetings monthly in a place and date determined by the members. Currently the meetings are held in the Council Building at tribal headquarters and are open to the public, except when the council is in Executive Session.

Initially, Jiwere-Nut'achi were migratory hunter-gatherers with some subsistence farming practices. They hunted buffalo and other game that they encountered on the Plains. They also grew corn, beans, and squash to supplement their diet. Jiwere-Nut'achi also foraged for berries, tubers, and ground nuts. Jiwere-Nut'achi people also believe in a sacred, powerful being called *Wakqnda* 'God' or 'Creator,' who reigns over the natural and spiritual world. Jiwere-Nut'achi

people hold an annual summer encampment during the third weekend of July. The encampment features four days of gourd dancing, powwow dancing, and “traditional” food such as corn soup, pork and hominy, fry bread, grape dumplings, and steam fry (meat gravy). Campsites at the encampment grounds are typically inherited through families. The Jiwere-Nut’achi encampment committee holds benefit dances during the remainder of the year to raise money for summer encampment. Recently, the committee has brought back the traditional winter encampment usually held between Christmas Day and Martin Luther King, Jr. Day. Encampment and dances are regarded as a time of homecoming and fellowship. The Jiwere-Nut’achi has a clan system that is comprised of seven clans: owl, pigeon, eagle, elk, buffalo, bear, and beaver. Each clan has traditional responsibilities throughout the year and carries traditional names. The clans trace their origins back to the tribes’ respective creation stories.

This introduction contains a description of the problem, review of background, and identification of gaps in research. The second chapter, Language Loss, Shift, and Jiwere, explains what language loss and shift are and how the Jiwere language has been lost in some ways and shifted in others. The third chapter is a literature review which includes a discussion of different academic subjects and areas of research that I used to inform my data collection and analysis. These subjects and areas of research include the Identity Approach in Second Language Acquisition; Indigenous Second Language Acquisition; Native American and Culture, Language, and Education; and Indigenous Linguistic Ideology. The fourth chapter covers my research methodology. The fifth chapter is a discussion of results that is meant to provide the community and other researchers with a more complete picture of Jiwere Language Status. Finally, the sixth chapter, the conclusion, provides final thoughts, suggestions for moving forward in language reclamation and acquisition both for individual learners and at the programmatic planning level.

The appendix includes a copy of the Young Adult Survey, a community language resource guide, and a linguistic conventions and pronunciation guide.

Chapter 2: Language Loss, Shift, and Jiwere

Defining Language Loss and Language Shift

Two concepts that are central to understanding the context for languages like Jiwere are language loss and language shift. Ken Hale states, “[Language loss] is part of a much larger process of loss of cultural and intellectual diversity in which politically dominant languages and cultures simply overwhelm Indigenous local languages and cultures, placing them in a condition which can only be described as embattled.”⁸ Many tribal communities in the United States are facing this loss. Of the roughly 6,000 languages spoken in the world today (900 in the Americas), 90 percent will approach extinction or “sleeping” status by the year 2100 with other estimates putting the loss at 50 percent.⁹ The situation becomes even more dire when the numbers for the United States and Canada are examined. Michael Krauss writes, “For the whole USA and Canada...of 187 languages, I calculate that 149 are no longer being learned by children; that is, of the Native North American languages still spoken, 80% are moribund.”¹⁰ Language loss can be attributed to a variety of factors but in many of the cases for Indigenous minorities intergenerational transmission from adults to children is to blame. There are external factors such as forced assimilation that add a layer of complication to the context of language endangerment in tribal communities.

Language shift is “the shift, by a person or a group, from the native language to second language...[it] occurs when people give up their native language and start speaking another

⁸ Ken Hale et al., "Endangered Languages," *Language* 68, no. 1 (1992): 1.

⁹ Sarah G. Thomason, *Language Contact* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2004), 241-242.

¹⁰ Hale et al., 5.

group's language instead.”¹¹ This process can occur either voluntarily or involuntarily, but, has occurred in tribal communities in the United States as a result of prolonged contact with European occupiers. Henne (2003) citing Haugen (1966) succinctly synthesizes the process of language shift (here personalized for tribal communities). At first, tribal groups maintain their ancestral language, the L1. Over time, members of the group develop a limited proficiency in English, the L2. Then, more members of the group become proficient in both languages, but they still learn the L1 first as the native language. Ultimately, most tribal group members learn the L2 first and develop some proficiency in the L1. Subsequent generations learn only the L2 and thus complete the transition, or shift, from the L1 to the L2.¹² Joshua Fishman offers three interrelated factors as to why language shift occurs: physical and demographic dislocation, social dislocation, and cultural dislocation. Of physical dislocation, “there is obviously a physical basis to all of life, whether individual, social or cultural. When this physical basis is dislocated, the continuity of life itself becomes threatened.”¹³ Physical dislocation can be brought about because of environmental factors like natural catastrophes but in the case of the tribal communities, physical dislocation comes at the hand of human intervention—forced relocation, assimilation, and genocide, to name a few. This human intervention begets the social dislocation aspect of why language shift occurs. If the L1 group is abandoning their heritage language, why is it happening and what does it mean for their community? Often, tribal communities are socially disadvantaged compared to the majority population, i.e. less educated, less financially secure,

¹¹ Thomason, 269.

¹² Richard Brian Henne, *Tongue-tied: sociocultural change, language, and language ideology among the Oglala Lakota (Pine Ridge Sioux)*, Master's thesis, The University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 2003, 7.

¹³ Joshua Fishman, *Reversing Language Shift: Theoretical and Empirical Foundations of Assistance to Threatened Languages* (Clevedon: Multilingual Matters LTD, 1991), 60.

due to policies implemented by the federal government. Obtaining social mobility requires the mastery of the language-majority's culture. Fishman uses Xmen and Ymen to illustrate the language-minority (Xmen) and majority (Ymen) groups. Fishman writes:

Xmen are seemingly faced by a cruel dilemma: either to remain loyal to their tradition and to remain socially disadvantaged (consigning their own children to such disadvantage as well), on the one hand; or, on the other hand, to abandon their distinctive practices and traditions, at least in large part, and thereby, improve their own and their children's lots in life via cultural suicide.¹⁴

Similarly, cultural dislocation forces tribal communities to be moved from "their customary areas and distributed in small numbers to a variety of new and less advantageous areas in which their traditional cultural pursuits cannot be successfully reestablished."¹⁵ What Fishman labels as reversing language shift can also be called language revitalization. When confronted with the reality that less and less people are speaking their heritage languages, tribal communities have begun to focus their attention on the work of language revitalization, or reclamation.

Jiwere Language Shift

Language shift and cultural decline for the Jiwere people began as early as the 1500s. The Jiwere and Nut'achi were once part of a larger tribe, along with the Baxoje and *Ho Tange* (Ho-Chunk) people, located in the Green Bay area of Wisconsin. Eventually in the 16th century, the three tribes split from the Hocak and migrated southwest. The three divided once again but collectively moved closer and closer to Nebraska because the more powerful and numerous Dakota forced them across Minnesota and Iowa.

The Jiwere lived at the mouth of *Nyi Brathge* (Platte River) for some time in the latter half of the eighteenth century. In 1798, the Nut'achi rejoined the Jiwere after repeated bouts of

¹⁴ Ibid., 60.

¹⁵ Ibid., 62.

smallpox and attacks by the Sauk and Meskwaki (Sac and Fox) forced them to flee Western Missouri.¹⁶ On behalf of the United States, William Clark and Auguste Chouteau re-established a relationship of peace and friendship with the tribe with a treaty on June 24, 1817. In it, the Jiwere acknowledged that they were under the protection of the United States.

In August of 1825, commissioners William Clark and Lewis Cass made a treaty with the Lakota, Dakota, Anishnaabe (Ojibwe, Chippewa, Potawatomi), Sauk, Meskwaki, and Baxoje. The treaty established boundaries between all of the tribes so that they would not hunt outside their defined limits. However, Clark and Cass believed that the Jiwere had a claim to lands as designated in Article 4 of the treaty: "Having reason to believe that the Ottoes have a just claim to a portion of the country upon the Missouri, east and south of the boundary line dividing the Sacs and Foxes and the Ioways, from the Sioux...the claim of the Ottoes shall not be affected by any thing herein contained." So, a separate treaty council was prepared for the Jiwere, Omaha, and Pawnee and thus they were not invited to the treaty council at Prairie Du Chien under Article 11 of the treaty.

Five years passed before a treaty council was held and in the time between the two councils, the Sauk and Meskwaki grew impatient about where their exact boundary lines were and began to harass other tribes in the area. Keokuk, the Sauk leader, even visited the Jiwere and told them that William Clark gave him permission to kill any Jiwere or Omaha who continued to hunt in those areas the Sauk and Meskwaki claimed. However, the Jiwere did not believe that Clark would do such a thing and according to Major Dougherty, they replied, "The bones of our fathers...are buried on both sides of the Missouri and we will cross and recross to visit them

¹⁶ Matthew M. Jones, "How the Missouriia Came to Live with the Otoe," Tribal Legacy Project, accessed June 24, 2018, <https://www.lc-triballegacy.org/ftp/transcripts/MJoOMi2D-massacre.txt>.

when we please, so long as the master of life gives us breath.” Tensions continued to mount and eventually, Major Dougherty, in a report to the Secretary of War, stated that the Yankton, Omaha, Jiwere, and Baxoje wished that “a treaty be held for the purpose of establishing peace between them and the Sacs and Foxes, and that the Government purchase the country in question and make it a common hunting ground.” In July 1830, a treaty council was held at Prairie du Chien with Superintendent Clark and Colonel Willoughby Morgan on behalf of the United States and the Sauk and Meskwaki, Lakota and Dakota, Omaha, Baxoje, Jiwere, and Nut’achi. By July 10, the tribes in attendance agreed to and signed a “treaty of peace and friendship” and the Jiwere gave up claim to lands east and south of the “Sac and Fox-Sioux line,” but retained their right to hunt there. Then on July 12 when the council reconvened, Ietan, a young Jiwere chief, requested that the annuity specified in the treaty be extended to twenty years instead of ten because of the scarcity of game in the area and farming as stipulated by the United States was still new to his people. The treaty established a “half-breed” reservation at the mouth of the *Nyi Mqhainge* (Little Nemaha River) which had previously belonged to the Jiwere and was ceded by them, as a result the Omaha, Baxoje, Yankton and Santee bands of Lakota and Dakota were to pay the Jiwere out of their annuities a collective total of three hundred dollars annually for ten years (\$3000 in total), instead of the United States just giving it to them outright and possibly creating more animosity between the groups since it would count against their annuities.

Then in September of 1833, after the Kickapoo moved onto land the Jiwere still claimed, a treaty council was formed by the government to quell any tensions that may have arisen. The Indian Office sent Henry L. Ellsworth to act as commissioner and negotiate the treaty. In the treaty, the Jiwere agreed to give up title and right to lands lying west and south of the *Nyi Mqhainge*. The United States continued in the usual tradition of federal paternalism by giving the

Jiwere and Nut'achi \$1,000 in stock that was to be placed in care of the agent until the President believed they were responsible enough to handle the money on their own.

As the surrounding tribes became larger and hunted more, the land and game available to the Jiwere continued to shrink. Although the tribes agreed to cease hunting, their agricultural pursuits were not bringing in enough revenue to sustain their lifestyles. Even so, to hunt would mean venturing onto other claimed hunting land and risk losing their own lives. While the Jiwere and Nut'achi could have potentially raised 12,000 bushels of corn per year as well as beans and squash, the tribe was plagued by the desolation of poverty and alcoholism, stemming from the easy access granted by whites. The population of the tribes continued to decline and many starved for most of the year in 1836. Hunting parties returned with insignificant amounts of meat in the fall. The beginnings of factionalism within tribal society became more evident as the stress of the living conditions wore on its members. Usually seen as a united nation, the Jiwere and Nut'achi experienced a period of deepening division in the 1830s. The United States government only acknowledged Jiwere chiefs as the leaders of the two tribes and it was generally the policy to combine the two, the reasoning being that it was "less costly to deal with one nation than with two," though not necessarily the best practice for respectfully dealing with two different groups. Eventually the Nut'achi sect retreated from the others to form a "separate village of the south side of the Platte, near its junction with the Missouri." Fractures were becoming more and more evident within Jiwere society as well. After the murder of the revered chief Ietan by two young warriors in 1837, the authority within the tribe collapsed with two opposing forces eager to avenge the deaths of the murdered. In February of 1841, Council Bluffs Agent Daniel Miller reported:

These Indians [the Otoe and Missouria] are in a most deplorable situation, notwithstanding that they have had the kind and benevolent hand of the Government

extended to them for many years past, and that during certain periods of that time (if we may judge from reports,) they bid fair to follow the example of some of their more advanced red brethren of the West in the pursuits of agriculture and civilization having been furnished with teachers, blacksmiths, and farmers, for these purposes...they, in a moment of drunkenness and riot, set fire to their village, which was soon reduced to ashes.

After this incident, the Jiwere then withdrew to the southside of Nyi Brathge and split into four villages. Incidents such as the one described above earned the Jiwere and Nut'achi the title of "most rascally Indians in the West" according to Lieutenant Henry Carlton. By the mid-1840s, harvests were so unyielding that one winter the Jiwere were "reduced to eating the thatch off their lodges to stay alive (presumably big bluestem hay, boiled into a thin soup)."¹⁷ The desperate conditions required emergency rations to be requested via Agent Miller.

By the late 1840s, the Jiwere desired to sell land on the northern bank of Nyi Brathge because they were being pushed south by the Lakota and Dakota. They had also experienced much death and loss in the time they occupied the northern bank. A war party of three to four hundred Lakota and Dakota burned down the village of Big Kaw's band and left twenty-eight dead, forcing the remainder of the tribe to cross the river to join the other band on the south bank of Nyi Brathge. The situation eventually escalated to the point that the Jiwere and Nut'achi were begging to be removed from the area. It was no longer possible for them to survive by hunting and an agriculturally based society was being met with resistance from the communities. They sold guns, horses, clothes for food and by 1853, the Jiwere-Nut'achi had nothing left to sell but the land.

The Secretary of the Interior, Robert McClelland, sent George W. Manypenny, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, to Indian country from September to October of 1853. During

¹⁷ David J. Wishart, *An Unspeakable Sadness: the Dispossession of the Nebraska Indians* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1994), 89.

his visit and in his subsequent report, Manypenny pointed out that many of the agents appointed to help the Indians had not always been “honest, faithful men” and acted more as literal agents than guardians and protectors of the “ignorant” Indian. Secretary McClelland “favored colonization of Indians in suitable locations, of limited extent, and distant from white settlements,” as did Manypenny, who advocated for reservations away from the lands that the tribes were living on at the time of his visit. In December of 1853 Manypenny instructed Agent James M. Gatewood of the Council Bluffs Agency to invite no more than six Jiwere and Nut’achi to Washington, D.C. to make a treaty concerning the sale of their land.

In Article 1 of the March 15, 1854 Treaty, the tribes ceded to the United States “all their lands west of the Missouri River excepting a strip of land on the waters of the Big Blue River, ten miles in width.” The tribes agreed to vacate the ceded land and move to the reservation “as soon after the United States shall make the necessary provision for fulfilling the stipulations of this instrument, as they can conveniently arrange their affairs, and not to exceed one year after such provision is made.” The President reserved the right to decide what proportion of the annual payments would be paid to the tribes in money and what proportion would be given to them to “advance them in civilization,” i.e. buildings for colonial institutions which were unfamiliar and incongruent with the tribal society, opening large scale farms which had proven to be ineffective in the communities for the past twenty years, seeds, white clothing, provisions, other merchandise, guns and ammunition, tools, and medical purposes.

The tribes had one year to relocate, break up, and fence 150 acres of land in their new assigned lands. Article 6 of the treaty set up allotment. The article states: “The President may...issue a patent to such person or family for such assigned land, conditioned that the tract shall not be aliened or leased for a longer term than two years; and shall be exempt from levy,

sale, or forfeiture, which conditions shall continue in force, until a State constitution embracing such land within its boundaries shall have been formed, and the legislature of the State shall remove the restrictions.” This is interesting considering that a mere two months later on May 30, 1854, the Kansas-Nebraska Act became law and created the territories of Kansas and Nebraska. The tribes acknowledged their dependence on United States and vowed to be peaceful with other tribes except in self-defense and would submit any problems to the United States government or their agent. The tribes agreed to allow the construction of roads, highways, and railways on their land west of the Big Blue River pending just compensation. The United States agreed to pay to Lewis Barnard [Bernard] 300 dollars because the tribe had been unable to pay him previously. Bernard’s father, Joseph, operated a ferry near the Nemaha Half-Breed reservation and the son, Lewis, often acted as a translator for the tribe. Chiefs Arkeketa, Kickapoo, Medicine Horse, Big Solider, Buffalo Chief, Missouri Chief, and Whitewater signed the treaty on the part of the Jiwere and Nut’achi.

In Nebraska City on December 9, 1854, George Hepner and the Jiwere and Nut’achi agreed that the reservation be moved to a point five miles east of the original treaty stipulations. In the aftermath of the confusion of the 1854 treaties, things seemed to be looking up for the Jiwere and Nut’achi; the land they picked for the reservation was good with plenty of timber, and rich, fertile soil. Game in the area was making a steady comeback to regular population levels and the reservation was close to the Kansas bison range. The tribe set up their village on the eastern side of the reservation, near the Big Blue River and Plum Creek. Although the tribes’ situation was improving, the implementation of the treaty agreements was delayed due to the lack of an agent at the Council Bluffs Agency. New reservations and agencies combined with the new personnel in the Indian Office, annuity deliveries were often late. The tribes depended on

these payments and deliveries to clothe and feed themselves and survive off of but with the installments coming in later and later every year, they were unsure of what they should do. They could either wait for the deliveries or go on the annual buffalo hunt and provide for their families.

Another failure of the treaty was the mission school. Low attendance plagued the school because of participation in the buffalo hunt and the only success on the reservation: the steam saw and grist mill. In 1869, a Quaker agent, Albert Lamborn Green arrived in Nebraska. Green recorded manuscripts of the language, names of important men and women, religion, medicine, the police force, and daily life. Green was widely respected among many of the Jiwere and Nut'achi because he often advocated on their behalf. However, Green did not agree with our traditional pipe dancing, medical, and funeral practices. He attempted to put a stop to many of these practices, causing more rifts within the tribe.

Factionalism over assimilation divided the tribes in the 1870s. The members who were influenced by the Quaker agents favored assimilation and were known as the Quaker band. The band was led by the chief Big Elk, appointed by agent Jesse Griest. Big Elk replaced the hereditary chiefs such as Medicine Horse and Arkeketa. The Quaker band was opposed by the more traditional Coyote band (later known as the Absentee Otoes), led by Medicine Horse and chiefs of other clans. The factionalism manifested itself in the issue of whether or not to sell the Big Blue Reservation and move to Indian Territory. After a Quaker plan to sell 120,000 acres of the reservation was approved by Congress in 1876, families of the Coyote faction left Big Blue to reside on the Sauk and Fox reservation in 1880. By October 1881, the Quaker band had settled for a reservation fifteen miles north of current day Stillwater, Oklahoma in Indian Territory. Over time, members of the Coyote band joined the others at the Red Rock reservation. The land

in Indian Territory was no comparison for the rich, fertile soil of the Big Blue Reservation. Besides Red Rock Creek, there was no water source and north central Indian Territory had little timber. Eventually, the tribe accepted allotment by the turn of the twentieth century.

In Indigenous communities, the importance of knowing tribal history is constantly stressed to children. When I was in grade school, I lived in northeastern Kansas—near the former Big Blue Reservation, the very one created by the treaty my ancestor Missouri Chief signed—and my mom would often take me to go visit those old lands. I did not understand the historical trauma that contact with colonizing forces had on myself, my family, or my community until I started doing research on our language and its documentation. The realization that the reason the tribal language department has to fill in so many gaps in our knowledge of the grammar and phonology of Jiwere is because so many of our ancestors were lost to disease brought by Europeans, sent to boarding schools and mission schools where they were abused for speaking their language but also for simply *being* Indian, our land was systematically parceled away from us, and our community has been threatened and weakened by drug and alcohol abuse since their introduction into our community. It is also because grandparents didn't want to teach their children or grandchildren about their language and culture due to the traumas they experienced at agency and boarding schools alike and because our ancestors were taken from their parents, not allowed to practice our culture, and in some cases weren't granted citizenship until 1924. That realization still pains many Jiwere-Nut'achi and other Indigenous people and the effects of those events are felt today. All of this is why we need our language and culture now more than ever. We all have a responsibility to engage in language and culture reclamation, from the oldest to the youngest of us. While colonization is one of the reasons that the language isn't being widely spoken anymore, colonization and settler-colonial structures won't be the reason that it comes

back into wide use. When Indigenous people speak their heritage languages, they are engaging in a form of decolonization or resistance to colonization. It is a recovery of the knowledge held within the language and honors the ancestors who prayed for the survival of their people. When I write that it is our responsibility, I mean that Indigenous peoples hold the knowledge of their own educational and governing structures which will provide the foundation for language reclamation and revitalization.

Chapter 3: Literature Review

Language Status

When one makes a cursory Google search for “Chiwere/Jiwere/Otoe language” and clicks through the various websites that are included in the search results, one will invariably land on the Ethnologue website. Even in exhaustive research, there are several sources that are continuously cited in regard to Jiwere language status. Ethnologue cites Marianne Mithun’s *Languages of Native North America* (1999) and Victor Golla in the *Encyclopedia of the World’s Endangered Languages* (2007) as sources for the information on the number of speakers and ethnic population. The Iowa-Oto entry makes note that the language is dormant with the last fluent speakers of the language passing away in 1996, with reference to Jimm Garrett Goodtracks’ research. It is interesting that the editors at Ethnologue chose to use Golla as a source for the ethnic populations since it seems that the communities or tribes themselves would be the best source for such information. Additionally, Ethnologue’s only information about revitalization or preservation activities for the language is that they are “taking place in Oklahoma.”¹⁸ Another aspect to note on Ethnologue’s assessment of Iowa-Oto is that there are actually other categories and labels that they use to describe the vitality or level of endangerment for languages that are on “level 9” besides dormant. The other two options are “reawakening,” meaning that “the ethnic community associated with a dormant language is working to establish more uses and more users for the language with the results that new L2 speakers are emerging” and “second language only” meaning that “the language was originally vehicular, but it is not the

¹⁸ Eberhard, Simons, and Fennig eds., *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*.

heritage language of an ethnic community and it no longer has enough users to have significant vehicular function.”¹⁹

Jane H. Hill critiques the ways in which academics “undermine their own vigorous advocacy of endangered languages” by failing to think critically about the audiences who are exposed to “advocacy rhetoric.”²⁰ Hill outlines three themes in expert rhetoric: universal ownership, hyperbolic valorization, and enumeration. Universal ownership is the assertion that endangered languages belong to everyone in the world, which alienates these languages from their own community. Universal ownership asserts that human knowledge is a project that we all contribute to, not just Western elites. However, discourses of local control, theft, and communal intellectual property contradict the idea of universal ownership. Hyperbolic valorization is expressed through words like pricelessness, treasure, value, wealth, etc. and converts endangered languages into objects better suited for preservation to be consumed by elites rather than used by people deemed imperfect. Community members (myself included) can even internalize this rhetoric. Hill writes, “Only major regional and world languages have linguistic ‘value’—the direct convertibility of the ability to speak them into income in a wide range of markets.”²¹ Lastly, enumeration creates a sense of crisis from the use of statistics and expresses a form of power that amplifies the alienation of endangered languages from their use and practice and relegates them to “the domain of esoteric expert knowledge.”²² Statistics like Krauss’ are often used as a call to action. Sometimes enumeration is needed but can be used to undermine the speakerhood of community members and on-the-ground knowledge of language.

¹⁹ Eberhard et. al, *Ethnologue*.

²⁰ Jane H. Hill, “‘Expert Rhetorics’ in Advocacy for Endangered Languages: Who Is Listening, and What Do They Hear?,” *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology* 12, no. 2 (2002), 119.

²¹ Ibid, 123.

²² Hill, 121.

Identity Approach in SLA

Norton and McKinney posit that there are two parts to the central argument of the identity approach to second language acquisition (SLA). The first is that “a comprehensive theory of identity that integrates the individual language learner and the larger social world” is needed for SLA theorists. The other part is “how relations of power in the social world affect learners’ access to the target language community” and the need for it to be addressed by SLA theorists.²³ The identity approach is needed for SLA because it can highlight the different positionalities language learners can possess and how they interact with the language. Norton defines identity as “how a person understands his or her relationship to the world, how that relationship is constructed across time and space, and how the person understands possibilities for the future.”²⁴ In this framework, when Jiwere people speak and learn the Jiwere language they are “negotiating and renegotiating a sense of self in relation to the larger social world, and reorganizing that relationship in multiple dimensions of their lives.”²⁵ Native people are constantly negotiating and renegotiating their identities in every aspect of their lives, subconsciously and consciously. Norton posits that three characteristics of identity are relevant to SLA: “the multiple, non-unitary nature of identity; identity as a site of struggle; and identity as changing over time.”²⁶ The identity as a site of struggle is relevant to SLA and how Native people negotiate their identity in “Western” spaces, such as sites of formal schooling.

²³ Bonny Norton and Carolyn McKinney, “An Identity Approach to Second Language Acquisition” in *Alternative Approaches to Second Language Acquisition* (New York: Routledge, 2011), 73.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Ibid., 74.

Issues of identity and power are central to SLA in regard to Jiwere because of our government and tribal status and historical interactions with colonizing forces. A gap pointed out by Block (2007) is the increasing number of heritage language learners who represent a different linguistic profile from other language learners and whose identities are often connected to both a minority and a majority culture. This is especially relevant to the complexity of the Jiwere community, as most students' first language is English but Jiwere is most likely their cultural and linguistic heritage. Works such as Alba et al (2002) and He (2004) deal with identity among heritage speakers. Alba et al (2002) examined the home languages of second- and third-generation children of Chinese, Cuban, and Mexican immigrants and compared the degree of language shift with that of descendants of European immigrants. The data suggested that "Anglicization" was transpiring at about the equivalent rate for Asians as it did for Europeans but was slower in Spanish speaking descendants. He (2004) supports the assessment that identity can be indexed with specific sets of acts and posturing which are constructed by specific language forms. The author argues that identity is dynamic, constantly renegotiating with reality and interactions, recognizing that identity is an intersubjective and reciprocal entity. He posited that identity emerges from responses and reactions. The most important take away in regard to my research is that He's analysis suggests that identity construction is connected with heritage language learning.

Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004) determine how the negotiation of identities is embedded within larger socioeconomic, sociohistorical and sociopolitical contexts. The authors use a sociopsychological approach to examine the negotiation of identities in second language learning and language use. A weakness here is that the complexities of identity building are treated simply and without critical engagement. However, social identities are seen as fluid, constructed

by linguistic and social interaction. The authors ask how languages legitimize, challenge and negotiate specific identities and open new identity options for subjugated groups and individuals. Pavlenko and Blackledge unite an emphasis on expansive formation of identities and prominence on power relations. Potowski (2007) points out an important gap in understanding language acquisition in dual immersion programs is the actual language use within them. Supposing that if the goal of the dual immersion model is balance between language use, factors that affect students' use of one language over the other need to be examined to fill that gap in understanding.

The research I am interested in is more aligned with the research that seeks to investigate how racial, ethnic, cultural, or linguistic variables may impact the process of SLA. Norton and McKinney write, "Identity research does not regard such identity categories as psychometric variables, but rather as sets of relationships that are socially and historically constructed within particular relations of power (cf. Davis & Skilton-Sylvester, 2004; Ibrahim, 1999; King, 2008; Kubota & Lin, 2006; Nelson, 2009)."²⁷ My research also involves the concept of imagined communities (outlined in Norton and McKinney (2011) as being explored by Anderson (1991), Kanno & Norton (2003), Norton (2001), and Pavlenko & Norton (2007)) and learners' investment in the target language (developed through Norton (2000), Norton Peirce (1995), and Norton & Gao (2008)).

Research in the identity approach to SLA investigates how power operates within societies, which affects human actions. This research uses Foucault (1980) to create a framework

²⁷ Ibid.

in which to “understand not only the relationship between knowledge and power, but the subtle ways in which power operates in society.”²⁸

Indigenous Second Language Acquisition

Matiu Ratima and Stephen May (2011) reviews literature in Reversing Language Shift, Second Language Acquisition, and Māori and Indigenous language revitalization. It is one of the few reviews, if not the only, that looks at SLA through the lens of Indigenous contexts. The authors developed a list of factors that either help or hinder the development of second language (L2) proficiency for Indigenous adult learners, specifically for learners of te reo (Māori language). The authors divide the ten factors into three categories: individual, sociocultural, and wider societal factors.

Individual factors

Ratima and May include aptitude, age/timing/CPH, attitudes and motivation, and learner strategies among the factors that come from the individuals themselves.

Aptitude

John Carroll (1962) identified four abilities—phonetic coding, grammatical sensitivity, rote learning, and inductive language learning—that could predict success in language learning. Phonetic coding is the ability to recognize, identify, and recall sounds and their corresponding written symbols. Grammatical sensitivity is the comprehension of the functions of words in different contexts. Rote learning is the ability to learn big chunks of the language (words, phrases, sentences) and recall them repeatedly over an extended period of time. Inductive language learning is the ability to infer forms, rules, and patterns from new material presented to them in the language with as little help as possible from a teacher. Skehan (1998) expanded on

²⁸ Ibid., 82.

Carroll's work by combining the categories of grammatical sensitivity and inductive language learning to create the category of 'analytic language ability.' Ratima and May state:

This model is important as it proposes that certain elements of aptitude are significant in adult language learning at different times. Phonetic coding is more important early on when proficiency is limited. Analytic language learning is important both early and later as proficiency levels advance. Rote learning and memorization are also important at early and later stages of proficiency.²⁹

There are a few problems with the concept of aptitude as Carroll (1962) and the Modern Language Aptitude Test that he developed, the first being that it does not really test aptitude. In a way, it is measuring the test taking skills and abilities of a learner, rather than evaluating their communicative competence. Teaching languages in a decontextualized setting may hinder some students' success in achieving proficiency in their heritage language because the language is being taught outside of the community, without fluent or native speakers or community involvement, or without cultural activities or traditions included. These learners may feel more comfortable learning in a natural language environment (more immersive, laid-back, and open). The scholarship in SLA that concerns aptitude tends to be more concerned with linguistic competence than communicative competence. Tests and measurements of aptitude may be able to predict development of skill (such as grammar) but not language ability, or communicative competence.

Age, Timing, and CPH

A major area of study in the field of SLA is age, timing of second language acquisition, and the validity of the CPH (critical period hypothesis), which is based on Noam Chomsky's universal grammar theory which asserts that the human brain only has a certain number of rules

²⁹ Matiu Ratima and Stephen May, "A Review of Indigenous Second Language Acquisition: Factors Leading to Proficiency in Te Reo Māori (the Māori Language)," *MAI Review*, no. 1 (2011): 3.

that can be applied to a language, so all human languages must have a common grammar.³⁰ The critical period is typically asserted as age 2 through puberty. The critical period hypothesis asserts that the younger a learner is when they are first exposed to the language, the greater the ultimate proficiency of the learner will be. White and Genese (1996) found that some adult learners appear to have no critical period at all.

It is difficult to separate the factor of age from second language acquisition. The critical period hypothesis is a vastly pervasive idea in the collective knowledge of the general public. However, the rarity of adult L2 learners who reach ‘native’ or ‘near-native’ proficiency in languages challenges the notion that there must be a critical period. Additionally, it makes sense for younger learners to achieve higher levels of proficiency of an L2 they have no real choice in their learning situations (i.e. generally they *must* attend school) and their lack of adult responsibilities and free time are more conducive to learning in general as well as achieving higher levels of proficiency in an L2.

Attitudes and Motivation

Gardner (1960) was instrumental in establishing the ideas of attitudes and motivation as a field of inquiry in Second Language Acquisition. Gardner divided motivation into two types: instrumental and integrative. According to Gardner, a learner’s attitude towards the target language community affects their motivation to learn the target language. Instrumental motivation is “the learner’s view of whether or not learning the target language will provide any kind of practical advantage.”³¹ For example, in the THPO Cultural Interest surveys, one participant stated that learning Jiwere had no economic advantage for them personally because it

³⁰ Ibid., 4.

³¹ Ibid., 6.

wouldn't help with their job security or higher wages, therefore their lack of motivation to learn was instrumental, it was simply not useful to them. However, integrative motivation is about how a learner *feels* about the community (of speakers or learners) of the target language. If a learner has a desire to interact and maintain contact with the community and target language, they are said to have an integrative motivation to learn the language. Gardner initially believed that integrative motivation as more important "because it is personal to the learner and would therefore be less subject to changes in the external environment."³² The authors contextualized this to apply to Indigenous communities, writing:

For example, a change in government policy to provide financial incentives for learning an Indigenous language may affect learner instrumental motivation but would be less likely to impact on integrative motivation.³³

Eventually, research in the field implied that the individual learner context usually determines which form of motivation has more importance in second language acquisition. This shift came as a result of Dornyei, Csizér, & Németh's 2006 study of 13,000 Hungarian high school second language learners. Dornyei et al (2006) found that many of the students who had reported little to no contact with target language speakers and also reported an integrative motivation to learn the target language eventually reached a 'threshold' in their learning where their integrative motivation diminished. Dornyei et al (2006) found that the learner's individual context influenced their overall language learning experience.

Learner Strategies

What makes a good learner? The research in second language acquisition is mostly focused on cognitive strategies of learners. Ratima and May outline these strategies, which included on learners focusing on both form and meaning, taking the initiative in their learning,

³² Ibid.

³³ Ibid.

being aware of their learning process and their learning style, adapting appropriately in learning situations, and engaging in self-evaluation, planning a course of action with their learning, etc.

The authors compiled strategies from Ellis (1997, 77), Naiman, Frolich, Stern, & Todesco, (1996), and Rubin (1975). According to the authors:

The GLL [Good Language Learner] studies have been meaningful and useful to second language teachers because they identify and describe good learning practice...The major limitation of the GLL studies lies in their scant attention to the social and cultural milieu within which the learner strategies occur. Knowledge of the strategies is important, but of at least equal importance is a consideration of the conditions that enable learners to utilize these strategies.³⁴

There certainly seems to be a gap in research for second language acquisition, especially in terms of utility for both teachers and students across a variety of topics, but especially instruction and learner strategies.

Sociocultural factors

Instruction

Rod Ellis (2005) offers the most comprehensive review of ‘instructed second language acquisition,’ but the research does not conclusively answer the question of what the best strategies or ‘forms of instruction’ are best for learning an L2. Ellis compiled ten principles of effective instruction from research conducted between 1990 to 2005. Ratima and May (2011) pull three points from Ellis’s (2005) review of the literature: “Instruction may be effective when 1) opportunities for students to engage in communication-based activities are given priority, 2) opportunities for students to interact and express their own meanings are emphasized, and 3) students’ opportunities for learning the L2 are extended beyond the classroom.”³⁵ Norton and Toohey (2001) points out that Ellis (2005) privileges an input/processing theoretical model of L2

³⁴ Ibid., 7.

³⁵ Ibid., 9.

learning, which means that the contextual sociocultural factors in L2 learning are merely modifiers to the internal mental process in one's brain.³⁶ In terms of social cultural theory, L2 learning is a process where learners appropriate the utterances of others through historical and cultural contexts. From this perspective, learning takes place socially before it is internalized by the individual learner.³⁷ Ratima and May write, "Researchers must pay attention to the social and cultural practices within the learning context if they are to understand how the learner gains or is denied access to the linguistic resources of the language community."³⁸ This is applicable to the Jiwere community due to the large number of tribal members who live away from the Red Rock communities as well as the number of language instruction options available to tribal members.

Agency and Anxiety

Ratima and May review Chrisp's (2005) study with Māori parents to illustrate how agency and anxiety can impact motivation and investment in language learning. The parents who were surveyed in Chrisp's (2005) study reported a desire to be able to pass their ancestral language onto their children and also a motivation to learn te reo and speak Māori to their children. Ratima and May suggest that this action could be seen as an example of agency and an assertion of "Māori parents' identities as Māori" people. The things that can affect instrumental and integrative motivations for an L2 learner can also produce anxiety that might silence those same L2 learners.³⁹

³⁶ Bonny Norton and Kelleen Toohey, "Changing Perspectives on Good Language Learners," *TESOL Quarterly* 35 (2001): 312.

³⁷ James P. Lantolf and Gabriela Appel, eds. *Vygotskian Approaches to Second Language Research* (Norwood: Ablex Publishing Corporation, 1994); Alex Kozulin, trans. and ed., Lev Vygotsky, *Thought and Language* (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1986).

³⁸ Ratima and May, 9.

³⁹ Ratima and May, 2011, 10.

In Chrisp's study, some of the Māori parents reported increased levels of anxiety when they entered Māori language classrooms as well as when trying to engage with fluent speakers of te reo. However, these participants also identified these acts as a motivation to learn te reo. In Peirce's study of immigrant women in Canada, surveys and interviews were conducted with the participants to assess how and under what conditions the women made, answered, and resisted opportunities to speak English. Peirce concluded that Gardner's dominant model of motivation in SLA in the 1990s could not account for the incongruities in the social-cultural lives of L2 learners because they bring certain aspects of their various identities to their learning situations. They are taking time out of their social and personal lives to "'invest' time, energy, and their own social capital into the business of acquiring the target language."⁴⁰ In some cases, this investment by the learner might gain them access to economic and social status within the language community by developing their capacity in the target language. For example, if a tribe decides to require its employees to take the equivalent of 3 university credit hours of its heritage language to earn their annual bonus, this would privilege certain members of the workplace (those with time to invest in the language) but it would also offer economic incentive for learner's instrumental motivations. Expanding upon Pierre Bourdieu's metaphor of social capital (which learners bring to any learning situation they enter), Peirce asserts that learners who have access to the "right" kinds of social capital inherently have an advantage over others who don't have that access. The type of social capital that a learner has depends on various factors such as the languages and dialects they speak, their social class, physical appearance, personality, and cultural identity. Ratima and May assert that Peirce's study and studies like it has be understood

⁴⁰ Bonny Norton Pierce, "Social Identity, Investment, and Language Learning," *TESOL Quarterly* 29, no. (Spring 1995).

in terms of learner's social realities and the type and amount of investment they make in learning an L2.⁴¹ As is the case with Māori, there are no in-depth studies of the sociocultural lives of good Jiwere L2 learners. Ratima and May conclude that research which fills this gap in scholarship can show how the sociocultural lives of learners can help or hinder the progression of their L2 acquisition. The anxiety of feeling responsible for speaking a language or even the guilt of not speaking a language can lower a learner's confidence and increase their affective filter, meaning that this anxiety the learner feels when confronted with a fluent speaker or when they are speaking the language for the first time can cause a learner to put up imaginary walls inside their brain which make it more difficult for them to learn the target language. Ratima and May write, "The power of and over language resides with the dominant group or with target language speakers. That power must be met with assertion and agency from learners in order for gains to be made."⁴²

Wairua, or Spirituality

Ratima uses Browne's (2005) study on wairua and L2 learning of te reo in the Te Ataarangi program to demonstrate how wairua or spirituality has affected his own learning journey with te reo. Browne theorized that wairua is an occurrence that has "more than just linguistic qualities." Browne concluded that if "te reo increasingly became the learners' vehicle for the nurturing, growth and development of the spirit, so too would the proficiency of the learner grow and develop." Ratima makes a note of the prevalence of religious or spiritual traditions in Indigenous communities. In Ratima's te reo classes, they begin with prayer no matter where they are. As is customary in many Indigenous communities, formal speech making

⁴¹ Ratima and May, 2011, 11.

⁴² Ibid.

includes addressing ancestors, those who have passed, and God or Creator. Knowing how to pray in one's heritage language can be seen as something that is highly prized and valuable to the community. The authors bring up several questions that remain to be addressed in this emerging field of study (adapted to Indigenous communities): Is spiritual growth a necessary component for proficiency development in an Indigenous language? Is it conceivable to develop proficiency in an Indigenous language without spiritual growth? What is the nature of the relationship between the two? The Jiwere community highly values spirituality and many learners' language acquisition was done through songs (*Iroska*, *Mqnkq Ruje Wokigo*)⁴³ and prayer in some form or another.

Wider societal factors

Demography

Baker (2006) asserts that the population and distribution of ethnic minorities is a major factor in revitalizing a language and sustaining a culture where opportunities for L2 learners to engage in naturalistic conversations in the target language flourish.⁴⁴ Baker's study found that language maintenance is supported and can occur when there are 1) strong religious beliefs associated with the minority language group, 2) speakers and learners who can travel easily between where they live and their homelands, 3) speakers or learners who are in more suburban and metropolitan areas that are socially and culturally active in their language or community.⁴⁵ Where speakers are concentrated in certain areas affects how a language is maintained. For example, if most of one's tribal community lives within a 90- to 120-mile radius of the tribal headquarters, language maintenance efforts might focus more on local community events in

⁴³ *Iroska* (Eloska dancing); *Mqnkq Ruje Wokigo* (Native American Church)

⁴⁴ Baker, 2006, 56.

⁴⁵ Ratima and May, 2011, 13.

places with concentrated populations of tribal members or interested parties. On the other hand, if the majority of a tribal population lives away from the tribal headquarters, then the language maintenance efforts might focus more on online materials and audiovisual learning.

Language status

Additionally, Baker identifies three types of status which affect the overall status of a language: economic, social, and symbolic. These different types of status may have the power to “shift” speakers towards or away from speaking the target language.⁴⁶ For example, if being fluent or speaking an Indigenous language has a negative connotation with unemployment or even punishment, a community may decide to shift away from speaking that language. For example, if speaking a dominant language such as English leads to higher social status and more power and prestige, a community may decide to shift away from speaking their heritage language. Especially in the context of Jiwere-Nut’achi language shift, it was more than achieving higher social status and attaining power and prestige; it was a form of survival in an ever-changing political, social, and cultural environment. When the United States Constitution was written, the relationship between tribes and the United States was supposed to be one between sovereigns, between one government and another government. Beginning in the 1870s, Native children were forcibly enrolled in schools run by missionaries and later, the government. In 1887, the Indian Affairs Commissioner J.D.C. Atkins banned the instruction and speaking of Native languages in mission schools and government-run boarding schools. Those schools were to provide all instruction in English with all missionaries or teachers who did not comply with this order to be banned from reservations. Children who dared speak their language were at risk of severe psychological and physical punishments. To avoid punishment, it was best to just stop

⁴⁶ Baker, 2006, 56; Ratima and May, 2011, 14.

speaking the heritage language and begin speaking English. Boarding schools are just one method used by the federal government to a) force Native youth to assimilate to white society and b) cease use of Native languages and customs. In September of 1887, in between comments about student health and excellent school instruction, the Superintendent of the Otoe Agency school, A.P. Hutchison, wrote “All have been compelled to speak English and discard their own language while at school, and the result is they have made rapid advancement in learning *our* language.”⁴⁷ By 1896, there is no mention of children even speaking Jiwere in the Superintendent’s report. It is said that elders who were children during the relocation to Indian Territory remembered being punished for speaking Jiwere at school—which in turn created a stigma of speaking the language and therefore many tribal members did not teach their children Jiwere. Perhaps these parents and grandparents did not want their children to be punished in school the same as they were, or maybe even because they thought learning ‘white ways’ would be better for the children in the end, i.e. continued colonization and further assimilation.

Conceptualizing one’s heritage language as a symbol of ethnic identity is common throughout the world and is an important factor in many learners’ motivations to begin their language journey. However, the way in which a language community assigns values to the language’s economic and social status is also important because those factors affect learner motivation as well. If a community or tribal government (whichever body maintains the structural ownership of the language) does not assign higher economic and social status to the language, it might not encourage decolonization within the community because it would instead be encouraging the citizens of that tribe and members of the community to completely assimilate

⁴⁷ United States, Office of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, for the Year 1887*, by A. P. Hutchison (Washington, DC: Government Publishing Office, 1887), accessed June 25, 2019, <http://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/History.AnnRep87>.

into non-Native society. Doing so would then mean that the tribe becomes only a political sovereign, ceasing to have a distinct culture and language thus losing the tribal lifeways.

Moreover, colonization refers to the formal institutions and policies and informal behaviors and ideologies which maintain domination, control, and exploitation of Indigenous people, their land, and their resources.⁴⁸ Thinking about the world Europeans were living in when they embarked on their conquest of lands and people unknown to them and then thinking about the world that Jiwere and Nut'achi people were living in, it is radically different. Europeans were experiencing famine, the spread of infectious diseases, an uncertain economy, overpopulation, just to name a few of their realities. So why would Europeans or anyone else engage in colonization? Colonizers engaged in this process because it allowed them to maintain and expand their social, political, and economic power for their system. This is detrimental to Indigenous people because colonial power came at the expense of Indigenous land, culture, resources, lives, and rights to self-determination.⁴⁹ So, granting greater status to the language can realign political and economic ideologies to fit traditional Indigenous values and knowledges in a shift away from settler colonial-made systems which don't adequately or efficiently serve Indigenous communities.

Language planning

Fishman (1999) identified two types of language planning activities: corpus planning and status planning. A corpus is a body of material (books, writings, papers) that is related to a specific subject, such as a language. Corpus planning plans for the development, revision, and

⁴⁸ Waziyatawin and Michael Yellow Bird, "Beginning Decolonization," in *For Indigenous Eyes Only*, ed. Waziyatawin Angela Wilson and Michael Yellow Bird (Albuquerque: School for Advanced Research Press, 2005), 2.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

expansion of dictionaries, writing systems (orthographies), grammars, and sound systems (phonologies). Corpus planning is also concerned with the creation and growth of the corpus' multimedia material available in the target language, such as videos, sound clips, songs, movies, TV shows, etc. In order to develop literacy and proficiency in an L2, learners need a lot of quality material to learn from.⁵⁰ Status planning plans for expanding the functional range of the language to include functions which facilitate access to material and social resources in society. Requiring the language in order to gain employment or be educated in a society validates that language as a language of power.⁵¹

Table 1 outlines the ideal wider societal factors of the development of L2 Indigenous language proficiency by adapting Ratima and May's conclusions about what an ideal set of wider societal factors for the development of L2 te reo proficiency would include. Ratima and May provide Indigenous communities with an opportunity to examine their language community's situation and status in a different way that might help them reframe and reconceptualize a path forward in reversing language shift.

Table 1: Ideal set of wider societal factors for the development of L2 Indigenous language proficiency

Demographics	High concentration of speakers and learners who live in close proximity
Status	Proficiency in Indigenous language is linked with employment, social status, and identity
Planning	Plans for both corpus and status; Supports the creation of learning material for L2 acquisition, provides meaningful employment

⁵⁰ Stephen D. Krashen, *The Input Hypothesis: Issues and Implications* (London: Longman, 1985).

⁵¹ Ratima and May, 2011, 16.

	to motivate learners, and fosters a family-home-neighborhood-community dynamic
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More research on the developmental journeys of adult L2 Indigenous language learners is needed in the future so that communities may be able to better support their language planning efforts as well as support learners with strategies and methods that encourage motivation and investment in the language.

Native Americans, Culture, Language, and Education

The inclusion of culture and language in school curriculum can be supported by studies such as Chan and Osthimer's 1983 study of Navajo students and Platero et al's 1986 study which found that traditionalism was not a negative factor correlated with dropping out of school. Chan and Osthimer found that students from less traditional homes actually dropped out at higher rates while students with moderate families (observed Navajo traditions and had some Western ideologies) were more likely to be college bound. Another study by Schwartz (1985), examined southwestern Native (mostly Navajo) college students and found similar results as Chan and Osthimer. Students described as more traditional were more successful while the students in the least traditional group were the least successful.⁵² Other studies such as Whitbeck et al (2001) examined factors which affected school success for Native children in the Upper Midwest with results that indicated traditionalism positively affected the academic performance of fifth through

⁵² Donna Deyhle and Karen Swisher, "Research in American Indian and Alaska Native Education: From Assimilation to Self-Determination," in *Review of research in education*, by Michael W. Apple and David Cooper, vol. 22 (Washington, DC: American Educational Research Association, 1997), 136-137.

eighth grade children.⁵³ An investment in the traditions, culture, and language of an Indigenous student's identity implies an investment in the youth's overall identity and growth as a person. United States Public Law 101-477 states that there "is convincing evidence that student achievement and performance, community and school pride, and educational opportunity is [sic] clearly and directly tied to respect for, and support of, the first language of the child or student."⁵⁴ Although Jiwere hasn't been proven to be someone's first language of the millennial generation or generation Z, we can interpret "first language" here to mean a person's heritage language, or the language of their ancestors. The inclusion of Indigenous cultures and languages in school curriculum is closely linked with the United States' paternal relationship with tribes. Programs like Johnson-O'Malley and Indian Education were set up to help serve the educational needs of Indian students in public schools. The Indian Education program I grew up with didn't connect me with my Indigenous identity outside of hosting Indian Taco sales, nor did it inspire me to engage in decolonizing praxis. My first Native American Studies class briefly mentioned boarding schools and I was flooded with memories of my aunties talking about Chilocco. I had never thought of the boarding school as anything other than the school some of my relatives attended because it simply was not discussed. I didn't know that the schools systematically stripped them of their Indigenous cultures, languages, and identities. As I became more interested in my tribal language, I learned that many of our historical sources written about the language came from Indian agents and missionaries who lived with tribe. They translated the Christian texts into our languages and molded curriculum that suited those acculturation and

⁵³ Les B. Whitbeck, Dan R. Hoyt, Jerry D. Stubben and Teresa LaFromboise, "Traditional Culture and Academic Success among American Indian Children in the Upper Midwest," *Journal of American Indian Education* 40, no. 2 (2001), 48.

⁵⁴ Ann Balchelder and Sherry Markel, *An Initial Exploration of the Navajo Nation's Language and Culture Initiative*, report, ERIC document reproduction service no. ED415078 (1997).

assimilation goals. In Jiwere, there are a lot of different words that can mean ‘to teach’ and ‘to learn,’ but the ones I spend a lot of time thinking about are *pihi* (to learn how or to repeat), *wapihihi* (to teach), *wapihi* (to learn something), and *warupi* (to be learned or to be skilled). These words contain *pi* (good) and are different stages in the cycle of education. Inherent in the language is the goodness in education, in learning, and in teaching. Native education is the traditional way of teaching and learning. When I was researching the best methods for language revitalization programs, I learned that the master-apprentice method was the best for achieving native-like fluency. It didn’t come as much of a surprise to me because I knew that apprenticeship is a hallmark of traditional Native education. Native education is characterized by participation and experiential learning. Storytelling is a form of education in Indigenous communities. Just as languages contain worldviews, so do Native ways of educating. Native education encourages and nourishes the survival of both the individual and the community. Native education can represent the balance between the natural world and the systems which are created by humans. This balance and way of thinking is needed when Indigenous people are continually presented with the false dichotomy of “walking in two worlds.” We walk in one world with many ways of understanding it and living in it. To make any of these statements, I had to compare Native education to the Western education I have received. After learning about oppression and power, it is much easier to look at formal Western education and point out the disconnect between theory or facts presented by the dominant narrative and the praxis of the dominant society. The hypocrisies in Western education also give way to understanding why Native people have a distrust of Western education systems. In white society, gaining access to wealth and social mobility through education is the norm, but in Native societies, education is another way of many that one can serve their community.

One issue in contemporary Native education that is relevant to the Jiwere community is Indigenous language revitalization in schools. To better understand this issue, it is important to discuss the impact of the Native American Languages Act of 1990 and the different ways language instruction programs have been implemented in the formal education of Native students. Native cultures, traditions, and languages have been attacked from the first European contact well into the 21st century. However, the Native American Languages Act (NALA) of 1990 marked an effort by the United States federal government to give tribes control over their languages and to give tribal languages official status. This meant that it was no longer the position of the federal government to restrict language instruction to solely English and actively suppress Native languages. NALA's passage changed United States policy to "allow exception to teacher certification requirements for Federal programs, and programs funded in whole or in part by the Federal Government" specifically for instruction in Native languages when those certification requirements would otherwise prevent employment of teachers.⁵⁵ The act also provided support for Native languages as the medium of instruction in appropriate institutions, i.e. those funded by the Secretary of the Interior.

With the passage of NALA and subsequent legislation (Esther Martinez Native American Languages Preservation Act of 2006), Native language programs were given the room to grow as well as the funding needed to truly flourish. However, language revitalization programs are challenging to implement in school districts that have both Native and non-Native populations "because of the co-existence of diverse and often conflicting perspectives."⁵⁶ This can be a

⁵⁵ Native American Languages Act of 1990, 25 U.S.C. ch. 31 § 2901 et seq.

⁵⁶ Phyllis Bo-yuen Ngai, "An Emerging Native Language Education Framework for Reservation Public Schools With Mixed Populations," *Journal of American Indian Education* 47, no. 2 (2008): 23.

problem in urban areas or in places like Oklahoma with many tribes represented in school populations. Some schools have found ways to address the need for several languages. For example, the Native American Community Academy in Albuquerque, New Mexico offers Navajo, Lakota, and Tiwa language classes for their students. Language revitalization programs implemented in formal schooling also face challenges in staffing, particularly regarding teachers who are knowledgeable about language acquisition, curriculum development, *and* classroom management. While there are workshops and institutes programs to send their teachers to, these require teachers to be away from their families and homes for days or weeks at a time on top of finding a way to pay for the travel to and from these locations.

Another challenge communities face is in deciding what kind of program to implement. Communities first have to agree on what the goal of their program will be; for instance, if fluency is proposed end goal then research points to total immersion programs as the best practice for producing fluent speakers because as Grenoble and Whaley write, “they are built on the commonsense premise that the best way to learn a language is to create an environment in which that language, and only that language, is used constantly.”⁵⁷ Cuts Wood School in Montana (Piegan), Waadookodaading Ojibwe Immersion School in Wisconsin, and the Hearts Gathered Immersion School in Washington (Salish) are a few examples of the various Native language immersion schools across the United States. However, if teachers are not “fluent” in the language or if there is not adequate infrastructure or funding to sustain an immersion program, communities must explore other options. For communities that are looking to expose students to the language and perhaps garner interest in becoming fluent speakers, another option is to treat

⁵⁷ Lenore A. Grenoble and Lindsay J. Whaley, *Saving Languages: An introduction to Language Revitalization* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 51.

the language as a “foreign language” and implement it into the schools that way. The problem with this type of program is that it exposes students to the language for an inadequate amount of time per day per week and limits language use to the classroom or academic domain. This is not to suggest that students couldn’t be motivated to use the language on their own outside of the class or attain fluency from such a program, it is not very common if fluency is truly the goal of the language program. This type of program is quite popular for K-12 schools in Oklahoma.

For many Native people, learning their heritage language can be an important factor in the development and strengthening of their cultural and tribal identity. There are many other advantages to learning multiple languages. Research has shown that multilingualism might encourage greater mental flexibility, awareness of language structure, reading ability, and larger vocabularies. As summarized in Deyhle and Swisher’s article, southwestern Indian college students who were described as more traditional were the most successful and students who were more acculturated were less successful. The authors state, “These are important findings that refuted the long-held assimilationist’s assumption that American Indian youth failed in school because of their language and culture.”⁵⁸

Linguistic Ideology

I primarily use David Leedom Shaul’s *Linguistic Ideologies of Native American Language Revitalization: Doing the Lost Language Ghost Dance* as the basis for my review of language ideology and attitudes because it is the most comprehensive yet succinct writing on the linguistic ideology situation that is specific to the North American Indigenous population.

⁵⁸ Donna Deyhle and Karen Swisher, “Research in American Indian and Alaska Native Education: From Assimilation to Self-Determination,” *Review of Research in Education* (22), 137.

Mainstream American Linguistic Ideologies

The United States of America has a diverse population whose ideologies regarding language cannot be boiled down to one or two competing ideas, but rather, several types of ideologies. These general ideologies are outlined in the following list (adapted from Shaul):⁵⁹

- Nationalists: “One nation, one language”
- Relativists: Language controls both thought and culture
- Humanists: Learning a foreign language is a worthy activity that reveals the humanity of the world to the student
- Separatists: Language is separate from culture

The data presented by Shaul shows that mainstream America believes:

- Language exists as an independent entity (not connected to culture).
- A real language is written (not just spoken).
- One must master the official, national language before fiddling with a second language.
- Language is a social cement for interacting with others.
- Language is a subject of study in school.
- Language can be owned or acquired as a thing.
- Any language other the official, national one is “foreign.”

In the mainstream American collective conscious, Native American languages are typically treated as “foreign” languages by schools and communities and rarely as the main form of instruction in all subjects.

Indigenous Linguistic Ideologies

Indigenous linguistic ideologies, especially those in the United States, are not reflected in mainstream American linguistic ideologies. Linguistic ideologies of Native people include valuing traditional languages as symbolic to their tribal identity, strong, emotional links between language and family, the supernatural, spiritual, or sacred nature of words and speech, and viewing traditional languages as private languages not to be shared outside of the home. Many of

⁵⁹ David Leedom Shaul, "Linguistic Ideologies of Language Revitalization," *Linguistic Ideologies of Native American Language Revitalization SpringerBriefs in Anthropology*, 2014, 45.

these ideologies can be traced back to historical traumas, such as not waiting to speak outside of the home because of experiences of abuse at boarding or residential schools. Communities in the wake of rapid loss of active speakers might see a “continuum” of proficiency that ranges from speakers to understanders to learners.⁶⁰ Some in the language community might become specialists or holders of traditional language and culture. When the language and culture ceases to be something that is not widely and publicly used, people become more self-conscious and anxious about using the language both privately and publicly. This anxiety comes from being laughed at or shamed for mispronouncing a word or not speaking in the ‘right way’ (proper variety or register).

Second language learners of Indigenous languages have unique advantages in the development of their L2 proficiency. Shaul outlines these advantages in his review: 1) The traditional or heritage language is respected and is a key part of their ongoing culture. 2) The language may still be spoken and used for writing. 3) They likely come to their learning with more motivation and perhaps a passive understanding of the traditional language. 4) They are likely to have better accents in the traditional language than outsiders who learn it.⁶¹

One of the biggest problems in reversing language shift in Indigenous communities is creating learners who continually progress in their proficiency as speakers. For especially dedicated families, language nests and immersion bubbles are great ways to slowly build up language use. However, Shaul points out that children aren’t going to become proficient in a second language if the household is a monolingual English home, which is the case for most Jiwere families. Whether language education occurs in the home or in formal schooling, the

⁶⁰ Shaul, 2.

⁶¹ Ibid., 50.

involvement of the family is essential for the learner's success. Some language programs in Hawai'i and New Zealand require parents and families to sign contracts that commit them to attending language and culture classes or speaking the language in the home.

A prevalent language ideology in Indigenous communities outlined by Shaul is language as a direct link to family and culture since many Native people stress that traditional language has an important emotional connection with kinship. Language as a means of interacting with the supernatural, spiritual, or sacred is another way in which Indigenous linguistic ideology differs from mainstream American linguistic ideology. This ideology views utterances of languages as vehicles that can have very real consequences in the world. In Native communities, words and actions are directly linked—words cause action and vice versa. Shaul writes, “This metaphysic is paralleled by the Christian belief that God hears any earnest prayer, and somehow answers.”⁶²

Language stakeholders, such as “language planners, teachers, educators, parents” and tribal leaders, must understand both the mainstream linguistic ideologies as well as their own community's linguistic ideologies in order to “construct and negotiate their identities in reversed diglossias,” using their languages in ways that *grow from* their cultures in order for the community to continue on the path of reversing language shift.⁶³

⁶² Ibid., 51.

⁶³ Ibid., 52-53.

Chapter 4: Methodology

If the only goal of this study was to correct Ethnologue and other descriptions of Jiwere, I would not need to write a thesis to do so because merely correcting a few numbers and updating a couple of definitions on a website would not be difficult to accomplish. However, using numbers and labels alone to describe a language and its community's status is insufficient. It is important to be more accurate and descriptive because this is a community with real people and families who have experienced the trauma of losing not only their elders but the knowledge bearers. Keeping this information within institutions or behind paywalls is a disservice to the communities which these languages belong. It is one thing for me as a community member and language teacher to say numbers and descriptions should be corrected, it is another for me to publish a thesis with all of this information and make it accessible to the community. This is important because it is a key component of self-determination and achieving restoration of self-governance and cultural renewal. By not making research about tribal communities and their languages totally accessible to those communities, it leaves little room for there to be dissent about the research from the community. If academics and scholars are writing about tribes and their languages, those tribes and their people should have open access to what is being disseminated within academic circles and communities. Often times, that is not the case. That is why establishing an Institutional Review Board (or something similar) at the tribal level, not just at academic institutions, can be helpful in safeguarding cultural and linguistic knowledge. Tribal people should always be consulted when conducting research that concerns their language or culture because it is their communal intellectual property, which is covered by articles 11, 24, and 31 of the United Nations Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples.

In order to address the lack of detailed and accurate information about Jiwere language status which comes from the community, this study uses both quantitative (demographics, area and school statistics, etc.) and qualitative data (survey questions and interviews) to assess the language status of Jiwere and answer questions of how young adults feel about learning the Jiwere language, if learning Jiwere helps them feel like they are more connected with the Jiwere community, how much of a factor their ethnic, cultural, and linguistic identity is in their motivation to learn Jiwere, and if they feel learning Jiwere or being culturally involved is connected to their success or achievement. Asking these types of qualitative questions will give a more robust picture of the language status.

To assess variables such as demographics about the population such as gender, age, size, and locations, I asked the Otoe-Missouria tribal enrollment office for updated enrollment numbers and statistics for age, gender, and location. I also asked specific questions in the Young Adult Survey (see Appendix A) about age and gender identity in addition to the questions about age, gender, and location posed in the OMTHPO Community Cultural Interest Survey. Using the data from these questions allowed me to see what gender and what age range took more interest or initiative in engaging with surveys or who wanted their voice heard, where they were located and where the population was most concentrated. These questions about age were important because they relate to Age, Timing, and CPH, major areas of study in SLA. To assess area and school demographics, I used statistics from the Oklahoma State Department of Education which gave me information about race and ethnicity, income level, and population density of the school and surrounding community in Red Rock, Oklahoma. Baker (2006) asserts that the population and distribution of ethnic minorities is a major factor in revitalizing a language and sustaining a culture where opportunities for L2 learners to engage in naturalistic conversations in the target

language flourish.⁶⁴ Baker's study found that language maintenance is supported and can occur when there are 1) strong religious beliefs associated with the minority language group, 2) speakers and learners who can travel easily between where they live and their homelands, 3) speakers or learners who are in more suburban and metropolitan areas that are socially and culturally active in their language or community.⁶⁵ Where speakers are concentrated in certain areas affects how a language is maintained. For example, if most of one's tribal community lives within a 90- to 120-mile radius of the tribal headquarters, language maintenance efforts might focus more on local community events in places with concentrated populations of tribal members or interested parties. On the other hand, if the majority of a tribal population lives away from the tribal headquarters, then the language maintenance efforts might focus more on online materials and audiovisual learning.

To capture the qualitative variables and data, I decided to use the survey method because it is a popular method in collecting data about opinions, attitudes, and beliefs. Since the identity approach to second language acquisition (SLA) theory incorporates the individual language learner and the larger social world and seeks to understand relations of power in the social world and how those affect learners' access to the target language community, the survey method seemed the best route in collecting data about access and exposure to Jiwere. Additionally, the identity approach allows researchers to interrogate the different positionalities language learners can possess and how they interact with the language. Other survey questions addressed language status, i.e. intergenerational transmission, where the language is spoken, by whom, and where it was acquired; self-evaluation of language ability, i.e. speaking, understanding, reading, and

⁶⁴ Baker, 2006, 56.

⁶⁵ Ratima and May, 2011, 13.

writing; and language interest and attitudes, i.e. preferred method of learning a language, reasons to learn Jiwere, value of language, and specific judgement statements about language learning and acquisition. Since the scholarship in SLA that concerns aptitude tends to be more concerned with linguistic competence than communicative competence, I wanted to ask Jiwere people about their own evaluation of their language ability since creating programs that focus on functional communicative competence is a goal for the future of any language work that I do. Additionally, as Ratima and May asserted, the learner's social realities must be understood as well as the type and amount of investment they make in learning an L2.⁶⁶ Understanding these realities and investments contribute to stronger plans for the future.

After an extensive Institutional Review Board process where the study was reviewed and approved for me to conduct in the community, an online survey was sent out via email lists and social media to young adults (ages 18 – 30) who identified as Jiwere/Nut'achi/Baxoje as well as interviews with Otoe-Missouria Tribe Language Department employees. The interviews were conducted during an afternoon session in the spring of 2018 with four employees of the Language Department. Employees were interviewed as a group and asked to describe their job responsibilities and duties, experiences as language learners and teachers, any potential areas for improvement for future language planning, and ideas about implementing an effective, efficient language program. The interview was recorded and transcribed for the purposes of using the information which was collected in this thesis. As stipulated under my IRB approval, the recording and transcripts were destroyed after I closed out my IRB project.

The online survey was open for two months in the spring of 2018, closed for several months and then opened back up to the survey population again in order to gather more

⁶⁶ Ratima and May, 2011, 11.

responses. The questions included in the survey were meant to measure or assess language motivation, investment, attitudes, ideology, status, and ability as well as gather opinions on language programming and thoughts about achievement and success. Although the data does not represent a total survey of **all** Jiwere-Nut'achi people and stakeholders, it does represent the opinions of individuals who were interested in being included in the research. I chose the online Google Forms survey method because I was familiar with how to setup the survey with the sections and graphs that I wanted. I also chose an online method of surveying because I felt I could reach Jiwere young adults who were on the periphery of the centralized community in Red Rock in addition to those who lived in the area. Possible barriers to the online survey method could be that internet is hard to come by in the rural community outside of work and school and it is possible that my email lists and social media did not have the reach that I thought it would. I asked other Jiwere young adults to forward the survey description and recruitment email as well as share my social media posts advertising the survey several times over the course of the first collection period. In all, the survey received 11 responses.

In addition to my own survey, I used de-identified data collected from the OMTTHPO's 2017 Community Cultural Interest Survey. I have included their project's methodology:

The THPO purpose in developing the survey was to collect and analyze data confirming the practices and outlooks of tribal members toward their culture and the Otoe-Missouria Tribal Historic Preservation Office (THPO). The THPO worked closely with the surveyor to determine the questions and assure [culturally] competent questions were developed. The THPO survey aimed to gather a diversity of opinions and insights to accurately assess cultural knowledge, confidence, and desire to learn. The THPO also assured that the questions would solicit feedback to assist the program develop goals and objectives in addition to improved services. Lastly, the survey touches on some outside conditions that effect tribal members' ability to participate in their culture, language and THPO activities. Tribal members (and other participants) were asked to take the survey at various gatherings held throughout the year, particularly encampment as well as posted the survey on the tribal web site. This ensured a variety of participants responded and tribal members who are not local were able to submit answers. Questions were designed to identify levels of knowledge and attitude towards culture and the n measure actual participation in culture. The purpose

was to ascertain data that would validate their desire to learn, or positive and negative views of culture verses [sic] their actual participation. Moreover, the survey asked what limited member's ability to participate to design future programming to fit those deterrents in mind.⁶⁷

The data from the Community Cultural Interest Survey is integral to the research methodology since my original survey was a small sample size. The THPO survey had 188 respondents, though the number varies from question to questions as some respondents did not answer every question. The Community Cultural Interest Survey asked many questions which were in the same vein as the questions I asked in the Young Adult Survey, so I was able to create a more detailed overview of the ideologies, attitudes, thoughts, and opinions of the overall survey population and gain some insights into the type of traditions and knowledges that constitute the Jiwere-Nut'achi identity. In order to draw out these ideas, I categorized each answer in the questions that concerned language or identity. For example, the Community Cultural Interest Survey asked a question about what prevents people from participating in cultural activities; several categories emerged from the answers by sorting them to find commonalities and similarities between them, such as distance, time, anxiety, etc. This was a time consuming but informative process as it allowed me to gain a deeper understanding of participants' reasoning for many questions.

As noted, since the survey data is merely a sample of the community's attitudes and ideologies, I did not include a margin of error. The original survey data in both mine and the THPO survey can only be representative of those who participated in each of those surveys. The data collected was numerical, categorical, and text. For all questions which related to my main research questions and those which helped describe the status of the language, I calculated

⁶⁷ Nicky Kay Michael, *Community Cultural Interest Survey, 2017*. Compiled and distributed by Red Rock, OK: Otoe-Missouria Tribal Historical Preservation Office, 2017: 9.

simple statistics using Google Sheets. I then graphed those statistics using Google Forms' software which created histograms for the appropriate questions. I then interpreted those histograms and graphs to decide which would be included in my discussion.

As is noted by linguist Lindsay Whaley, communities can often be painted as homogenous entities with little variation in attitudes toward their languages.⁶⁸ It was important to collect information about the attitudes, ideologies, and demographics of the Jiwere community to avoid creating a uniform view of the community. Grinevald and Bert also make a similar point in terms of creating a typology of speakers for the variety of speakers that exist in language communities. Creating a description of the community is useful for assessing who is likely to engage (or not) in language documentation, description, and revitalization. Furthermore, Grinevald and Bert argue that the community, whether or not academics feel inclined to deal with it, likely feels it has a stake in whatever projects or research concerns it. This is due to the acknowledgement of intellectual property rights by both the community and institutions, control over strategies, and project planning which recognizes the community's aspirations and needs.⁶⁹

The Community-based Language Research model—"research that is *on* a language, and that is conducted *for*, *with*, and *by* the language-speaking community within which the research takes place and which it affects"⁷⁰—was put forth by Ewa Czaykowska-Higgins. By using this model of research in my survey and analysis, even though it is not the typical applied linguistic

⁶⁸ Lindsay J. Whaley, "Some ways to endanger an endangered language project," *Language and Education* 25, no. 4 (July 2011): 342.

⁶⁹ Colette Grinevald and Michel Bert, "Speakers and Communities," in *The Cambridge Handbook of Endangered Languages*, ed. Peter K. Austin and Julia Sallabank (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 62.

⁷⁰ Ewa Czaykowska-Higgins, "Research Models, Community Engagement, and Linguistic Fieldwork: Reflections on Working within Canadian Indigenous Communities," *Language Documentation & Conservation* 3, no. 1 (June 2009), 24.

research, I assert that the community is the best expert on itself. Gerdtz (2017) states, “The optimal research situation would be research by Indigenous linguists on their own languages, with their own elders, and for their own communities.”⁷¹ Using this type of research model reasserts a model of empowerment for Indigenous communities as well as ownership and autonomy over language identity, vitality, and status.

Norton posits that three characteristics of identity are relevant to SLA: “the multiple, non-unitary nature of identity; identity as a site of struggle; and identity as changing over time.”⁷² Indigenous people and communities are comprised of people with multitudes of identities, not just those related to their heritage, ethnicity, race, or language, but those multitude of identities and experiences can help researchers understand the true status and vitality of their language as well as create a site of empowerment by using the greater understanding of the community itself. Through understanding what constitutes identity, knowing the vitality and status of language, revitalization projects can create better, more individualized and accessible programs for their communities. Ultimately, all of these factors and questions that the research revolves around contribute to the trajectory of language planning in the community. Ratima and May’s conclusions about what an ideal set of wider societal factors for the development of L2 proficiency would include (see Table 1). Ideally, the demographics would include a high concentration of speakers and learners who live in a close proximity (or at least a way to regularly connect with one another), the language status would include having proficiency in the language tied to employment, social status, and identity, and language planning would have both plans for a corpus and status while supporting the creation of learning material for SLA,

⁷¹ Donna B. Gerdtz, “Indigenous Linguists: Bringing Research Into Language Revitalization,” *International Journal of American Linguistics* 83, no. 4 (October 2017), 607.

⁷² Norton, “An Identity Approach to Second Language Acquisition,” 74.

providing meaningful employment to motivate learners, and fostering a strong family-home-neighborhood-community dynamic.

Chapter 5: Discussion

Language and Community Profile

In line with the help/hinder factors that I outlined in Chapter 3, I will divide the language and community profile into three sections: wider societal factors, sociocultural factors, and individual factors. Wider societal factors include the demographics of the re-emerging speaker community, the ‘status’ of the language, and language planning efforts. Sociocultural factors include types and methods of instruction, learner agency, identity, and anxiety, and spirituality. Individual factors include age and timing of L2 acquisition, attitudes and motivation, and learner strategies for L2 acquisition.

Wider Societal Factors

Demographics

As of June 2018, there were approximately 3,252 total tribal members enrolled with the Otoe-Missouria Tribe.⁷³

⁷³ Ann Hopper, “RE: Enrollment Figures,” e-mail message to author, June 08, 2018.

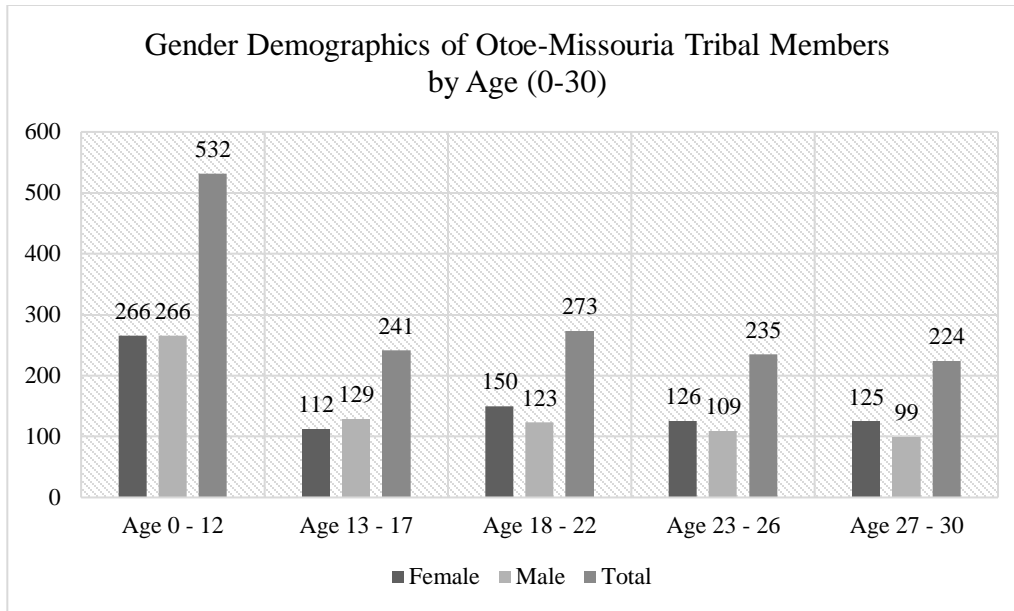


Figure 1: Gender Demographics of Otoe-Missouria Tribal Members by Age (2018)

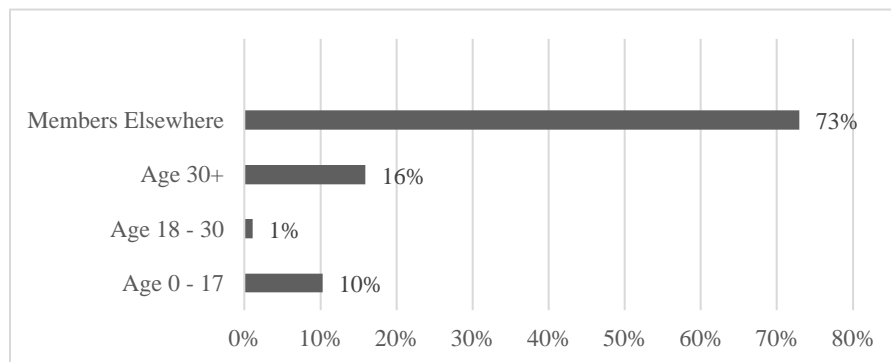


Figure 2: Otoe-Missouria Tribal Members Living in Noble, Payne, Pawnee, or Kay Counties by Age (2018)⁷⁴

Results from the 2017 OMTHPO's Community Cultural Interest Survey indicated that 134 respondents lived in Oklahoma with the most concentrated population being Red Rock and

⁷⁴ Ann Hopper, "RE: Enrollment Figures," e-mail message to author, June 14, 2018.

the surrounding area with 80 total respondents.⁷⁵ The next most concentrated populations were the OKC Metropolitan Area and Tulsa Metropolitan Area.

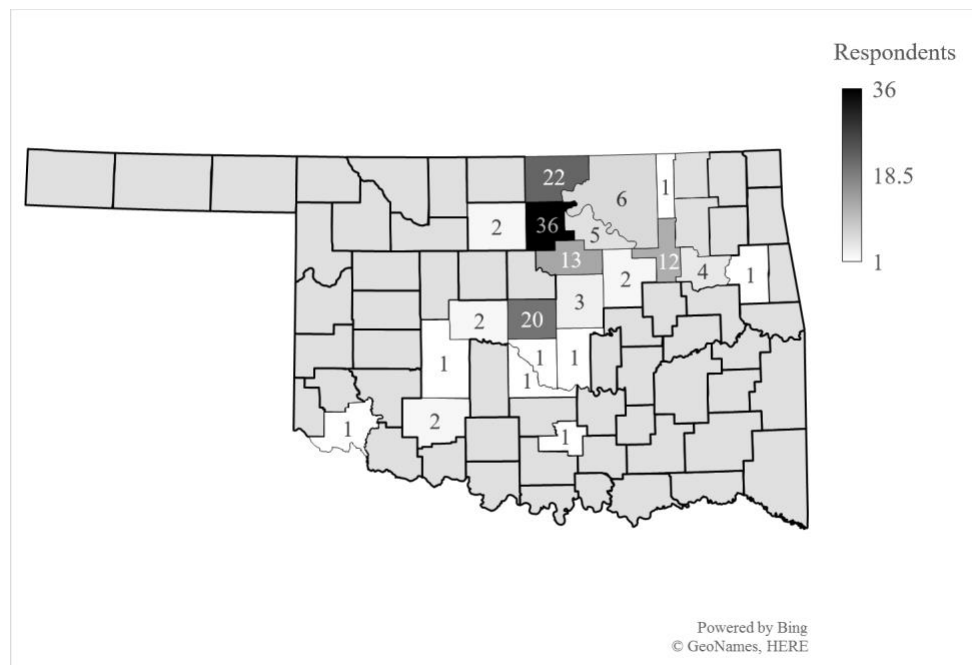


Figure 3: Map of Population Concentrations of Otoe-Missouria Tribal Members

Frontier School District

The Frontier School District covers 262 square miles, averaging about 1.5 students per square mile.⁷⁶ The district is comprised of one elementary school (Pre-kindergarten through 8th grade) and one high school (9th – 12th grade); both are located in one building. Frontier is classified as a G2 Community, meaning that enrollment is between 250 – 499 and the percentage of student eligible for free or reduced lunch is above the state average. At the state level, the

⁷⁵ Otoe-Missouria Tribal Historical Preservation Office. *Community Cultural Interest Survey Raw Data*, 2017. Compiled and distributed by Red Rock, OK: Otoe-Missouria Tribal Historical Preservation Office, 2017: 40-45.

⁷⁶ United States of America, Oklahoma State Department of Education, Educational Quality and Accountability, 2017 School Profiles: Frontier HS - Noble County (Oklahoma City, OK: Oklahoma State Department of Education, 2018).

ethnic/racial makeup of students in Oklahoma is 49.4% White, 8.8% Black, 2.3% Asian, 16.8% ‘Hispanic’/Latinx, 13.9% Native American, and 8.8% who were two or more races/ethnicities. During the 2016-2017 school year, Frontier School District maintained an average enrollment of 376 students at the elementary/middle school and the high school. Frontier High School averaged about 109 students enrolled during the 2016-2017 school year. Of this population, 53.8% of students identified as Native American, 34.0% were White, 12.3% were ‘Hispanic’ or Latinx. No Black, Asian, or students of two or more races/ethnicities were identified in the high school population. When compared with data from previous Frontier High school and district profiles from the Oklahoma State Department of Education’s Office of Educational Quality and Accountability, one can see a decline in the Native population at the school. However, the Office did not previously include ‘Two or more races’ as a category until 2016-2017, so this could be an explanation for the decrease in the population numbers. During the 2012-2013 school year, Oklahoma had the highest number of AI/AN students enrolled in the state’s public school districts at 105,995, which made it the state with the second highest percentage of AI/AN students at 15.74% of 674,412 total students. Students in Oklahoma also attend rural school schools at a higher percentage (30.9%) compared to town schools (24%), city schools (23.1%), and suburban schools (21.9%).⁷⁷ During the school year 2015-2016, 82% of students in the district were eligible for free or reduced lunch, compared to the Oklahoma statewide average of 62%. Overall, the Frontier School District and the surrounding community are fairly close to the state averages in poverty indicators such as poverty rates, unemployment rates, percentage of single-parent vs. married-couple households, and educational attainment levels for adults 25

⁷⁷ U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, *Common Core of Data (CCD)*, “Public Elementary/Secondary Universe Survey, SY 2012-2013 Provisional Version 1a.”

years and older. In rural areas such as Noble County and much of north central Oklahoma, there are not many places to work. Employment options are limited by transportation availability, low wages and high cost of living to be on par with city and metro counterparts, and educational attainment level.

Since there are no fully competent (fluent) speakers of the language, I would define speakers as language learners or language rememberers. There are currently 647 members in the Official Otoe-Missouria Language group on Facebook, with attendance at community language classes averaging between 20 to 25 learners at each session. All of those who are learning the language are engaged with the language in varying degrees of intensity. Survey results indicated that most respondents (7 out of 10) had studied or learned Jiwere prior to completing the survey. Of the 9 responses to the question “Where did you study or learn?”, participants indicated that they learned through the tribe or studied on their own (five participants each), growing up (three participants), during formal schooling (Head Start, High School), or they didn’t learn it all. OMTHPO Community Cultural Survey participants were asked if speaking their Otoe-Missouria (Jiwere-Nut’achi) language fluently was a goal. Roughly 64.7% (121 of 187) respondents answered yes, while 35.3% (66 of 187) answered no.⁷⁸

Language Status

As was outlined in the literature review, Jiwere has been categorized or labeled as a dormant or critically endangered language and that the ethnic community only includes about 1,150 people; earlier in this discussion, I explained that the Otoe-Missouria Tribe alone has at least 3,200 members as June 2018. Factoring in that there are two other tribal communities (Iowa

⁷⁸ Otoe-Missouria Tribal Historical Preservation Office, *Community Cultural Interest Survey Raw Data*, 2017, 25-27.

Tribe of Oklahoma and Iowa Tribe of Kansas and Nebraska) that number could double, meaning that the population estimate made by Golla in 2007 is wholly inaccurate when attempting to assess the true language status of Jiwere/Baxoje. Additionally, there are other ways of describing the vitality and level of endangerment of the language without resorting to terms like dormant, critically endangered, or extinct which all carry negative and discouraging connotations. Terms like (re)awakening imply a hopeful or more positive future for the language, instead of the finality of extinction or uncertainty of dormancy, as if the language is a dinosaur, animal species, or volcano that may or may not ever erupt again.

In terms of intergenerational language transmission, or the transmission of the target language from one generation to the next, there is not much conclusive data for the Jiwere language community. Four survey participants responded that while they were growing up, a grandfather spoke Jiwere in their family, with two participants answering that they had a grandmother who spoke Jiwere. Four respondents also answered that no one in their family spoke Jiwere while they were growing up.

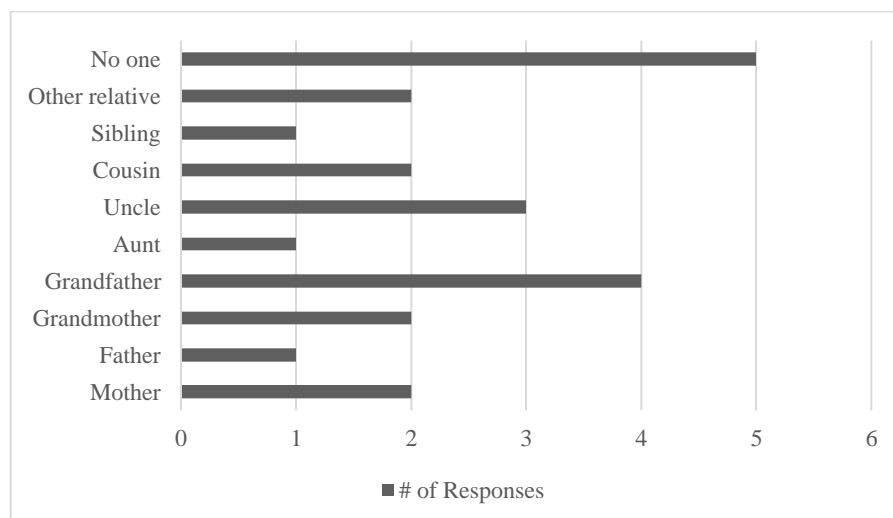


Figure 4: Did anyone in your family speaking Jiwere when you were growing up?

When asked if anyone in their home speaks Jiwere, most respondents indicated that no one speaks. Three respondents indicated that they were the Jiwere speaker in their home and one respondent answered that their mother spoke Jiwere in their home. This data could be an indication that there is at least one case of Jiwere intergenerational language transmission in the community at the present time.

The OMTTHPO 2017 Community Cultural Interest Survey asked participants to rate their participation in Otoe-Missouria activities and events. An overwhelming amount of survey responses indicated that they had never participated in language use or language revitalization. However, 18 participants indicated that they participated in language use weekly and 12 participants indicated that they participated in language revitalization weekly or every time it is held. ⁷⁹

Table 2: Participation in Language Activities

	Never	Once a year	Two to five times a year	Six to eight times a year	Once a month	Weekly/ every time it's held	Total
Language Use	80 responses 43.96%	30 responses 16.48%	27 responses 14.84%	15 responses 8.24%	12 responses 6.59%	18 responses 9.89%	182
Language Revitalization	106 responses 59.22%	25 responses 13.97%	23 responses 12.85%	4 responses 2.23%	9 responses 5.03%	12 responses 6.70%	179

⁷⁹ Otoe-Missouria Tribal Historical Preservation Office, *Community Cultural Interest Survey Raw Data*, 2017, 12-14.

Trends in Existing Language Domains

By examining trends in existing language domains, I mean to investigate **where** the language is spoken, **with whom** the language is spoken, and **what** the range of topics is that the language is used for. Since the language is typically used in ceremonial settings such as funerals, Iroska dances, Native American Church meetings, in prayers, Jiwere has highly limited domains (see Figure 5). This means that it is the non-dominant language in the tribal community because it is used in certain places at special times, usually by very few individuals in a community, e.g. elders, spiritual people, and highly dedicated language learners. Language remembers may recall at least some of the language, like simple commands and names for common objects like shoes, food, and perhaps their clan or how to say Jiwere-Nut’achi.

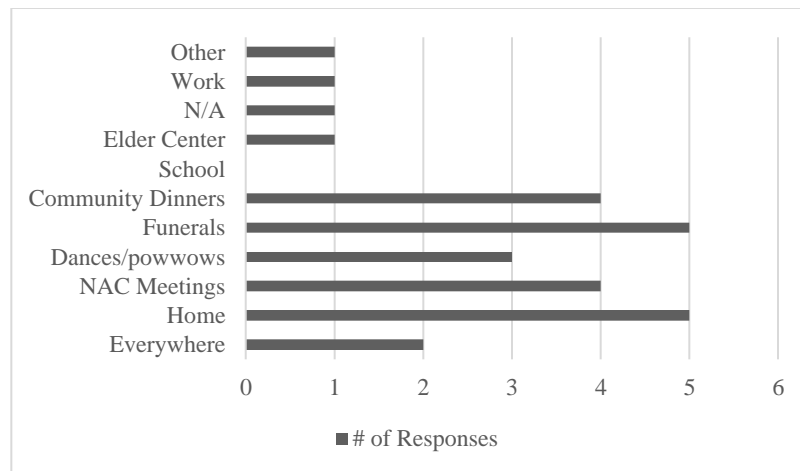


Figure 5: If someone you know speaks Jiwere, where do they speak?

Response to New Domains and Media

New domains and media, like the introduction of formal schooling, the 40-hour work week and American work culture, media in all of its forms (from television to geography), changed Jiwere. New terms were created for school, work, moving pictures, and even foods that weren’t present in the community before reservation life. The creation and usage of these terms

indicates that speakers or learners desired to continue speaking and wished for the language to evolve along with the ever-changing world around them. The introduction of these structures and cultures also means that it made it harder for speakers to continue speaking the language as their ancestors did.

Currently the language is used on the tribal campus for the names of buildings (ex. Ugwechi or Sweathouse), on traffic signs (ex. Nąsda ne or Stop), and in tribal buildings as place markers (ex. Hinage outside of the women's restroom and Wąnge outside of the men's restroom). The language is taught in the Otoe-Missouria Head Start, through the Youth Leadership Department which runs the After School and Summer Youth programs, in Frontier Public Schools for all pre-kindergarten through fourth grade students and as a high school world languages credited course, and on the tribal campus and in Oklahoma City.

The Jiwere language also exists largely on the Internet. The Otoe-Missouria Language Department (OMLD) has an 'official' language group on Facebook where videos and memes about and in the language are posted. This media includes pronunciation guides, memorable or comedic American movie scenes translated into Jiwere, words or phrases of the day, and basic conversation. The Chiwere language group on Facebook includes those interested in Jiwere-Nut'achi and Baxoje as well as non-Native Siouan and Caddoan linguists, whereas the OMLD 'official' language group requires new members to indicate their relationship to the tribe before they are accepted into the group. There is also a website dedicated to the Jiwere-Nut'achi/Baxoje languages, cultures, and tribes operated by Jimm Garrett (Goodtracks), who has done an immeasurable amount of work to document the language.

OMLD also publishes an online dictionary with the help of SIL and hosts a website with a small grammar to help learners from within the local community and those who are learning

from a distance. The OMLD website hosts a few materials for language education and literacy, including the blue and yellow (as they are colloquially known) grammar book set from the 1970s produced by Lila Wistrand-Robinson with the help of Jiwere and Baxoje tribal elders Fannie Grant, Joe Younge Sr., Grace Kihega, Truman Dailey, Alice Sine, Robert Moore, and Franklin Murray. These grammar books make reference to Gordon Marsh for his early fieldwork and include artwork made by Jiwere-Nut'achi children at the Red Rock School (Frontier Public Schools' pre-district consolidation predecessor). These books cover the alphabet, conversational phrases, drills, simple, compound, and complex sentences, songs and stories.

Of the eight responses to the question, *Does anyone in your community speak Jiwere?*, five respondents indicated that another relative besides a parent, grandparent, aunt, uncle, cousin, or sibling speaks Jiwere in their community. This was followed by four respondents who answered that a cousin was the Jiwere speaker in their community. Only two respondents answered that no one in their community speaks Jiwere and no respondent answered that their father speaks Jiwere. Of those who did know someone who speaks Jiwere, most respondents (six of eight) indicated that they speak Jiwere with relatives and/or with community members. Two respondents indicated that the Jiwere speaker speaks with their spouse, with their children, or with the respondent themselves.

The Jiwere language community seems to register as “coping” in terms of the response to new domains and media due to the creation of words for these new domains and media as well as the variety of programming for community members to engage in learning the language.

Political Factors

Political factors regarding language status includes the attitudes and policies of governments and institutions, specifically the official status and use of a language. The United

States government does not prohibit the use of tribal languages, and in a turn away from prior assimilationist policies, offers federal funding for Native language preservation, maintenance, and immersion. The Otoe-Missouria Language Department itself is in part funded by profits from the cell tower installation fee payments to the Otoe-Missouria Tribal Historical Preservation Office which are in contention presently. The other funding for the department comes from the support of the tribal administration. Additionally, Frontier Public Schools funds the position of the Jiwere language instructor at the High School level from its own funds, not from the tribe. This is certainly a promising political situation for the language to be financially support by not only the tribe but also the local school district.

Linguistic Factors

To accurately assess the amount and quality of documentation of Jiwere is a mighty task. The most important items in a corpus of language material are “written texts, including transcribed, translated, and annotated audiovisual recordings of natural speech.”⁸⁰ The Otoe-Missouria Language Department has a plethora of language documentation to occupy itself with in the coming years. There are hundreds of hours’ worth of audio dating back from late 1800s recordings of songs and ceremonies to recordings with the last fluent speaker Truman Washington Dailey. There are also hours upon hours of video – elders being interviewed documenting the ‘old ways’ and dictating how ceremonies and traditions are to be carried on. Luther College and the Sam Noble Museum both house the Chiwere Language Project Archives, which is possibly the largest body of Jiwere and related language materials.

⁸⁰ Matthias Brenzinger et al., “Language Vitality and Endangerment,” *Language Vitality and Endangerment*, 2003, 16.

Sociocultural Factors

Types of Instruction

Jiwere language is taught in a variety of contexts and age groups, so I am going to focus this section on the types of instruction for the Otoe-Missouria Head Start, Frontier pre-kindergarten through fourth grade classes, and the high school language class. The Otoe-Missouria Head Start teachers use the Creative Curriculum system for their curriculum, which supplies their staff with daily instructional tools, 38 research-based objectives in developmental areas (social-emotional, physical, language, and cognitive) and content learning areas (literacy, mathematics, science and technology, social studies, the arts, and English language acquisition). The system also focuses on routines and experiences for children and has been adapted to be a bilingual program for Spanish-speaking classrooms. The Frontier pre-kindergarten through 4th grade Jiwere-Nut'achi language class occurs every Wednesday and teacher Shawna Littlecrow spends about 30 minutes with each grade alternating between group A and group B (except pre-kindergarten, who comes every week). These classes are an introduction to the language and effectively function as a 'Foreign Language Experience' (FLEX), as defined by the OK Department of Education, in which students are exposed to a language and culture before deciding to begin further study. This type of language instruction is supposed to provide "awareness of other languages and cultures" and promote "positive attitudes towards language learning and cultural diversity," but is not intended to "lead to second language proficiency." The Oklahoma Department of Education suggests that this type of language instruction is followed by a 'Foreign Language in Elementary School' (FLES) program beginning in the fourth grade which provides a minimum of 75 minutes of instruction no less than three times per week. The Frontier High School Jiwere-Nut'achi language class meets each day school is in session for 50

minutes and is open to students in 9th grade and above. The high school level class curriculum follows the Oklahoma Department of Education World Languages Standards which prioritizes instruction that provides students with opportunities for interpretive reading and listening, interpersonal communication, and presentational writing and speaking.

Frontier Public Schools offers programming for students through the Indian Education program as well as the Frontier Inter-Tribal Youth Council. Oklahoma has 400 Indian Education programs operating at public schools in the state.⁸¹ At the federal level, the mission of Office of Indian Education is “to support the efforts of local educational agencies, Indian tribes and organizations, postsecondary institutions, and other entities to meet the unique [emphasis added] *cultural, language*, and educational needs of such students; and ensure that all students meet the challenging State academic standards.” The Every Student Succeeds Act (page 246) amended Indian education programs as Title VI, Part A of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA 2015). The National Advisory Council on Indian Education (NACIE) advises the Secretary of Education and the Secretary of Interior on issues related to the administration and funding that falls under the jurisdiction of the secretaries and concerns or will benefit Indigenous children and adults. Each year, NACIE sends a report to Congress in which the Council makes recommendations about topics. In 2016, NACIE recommended that Congress pass and enact legislation that would expand funding for Indigenous language acquisition *and* proficiency for adult tribal members as well as continuing to support the same goals for children through “culturally responsive programs,” such as immersion schools and programs. NACIE recommended that Congress enact laws that would fund education initiatives that honor

⁸¹ “Indian Education,” Oklahoma State Department of Education, accessed June 20, 2018, <http://sde.ok.gov/sde/indian-education>.

Indigenous students’ “languages, histories, and cultures, while preparing them for a successful future from pre- birth to life-long learning. Successful language acquisition and proficiency by children depends on a community of proficient language speakers to take hold and flourish.”⁸² Recommendations come to NACIE through various state level Indian Education organizations, collected from the communities that experience the effects of ever-decreasing federal funding for education. Many Native languages are classified as “foreign” languages in the public school sphere, which is an issue for various reasons. 1) It’s hard to fit Native language curriculum into the world language or foreign language model when there aren’t any ‘fluent’ speakers of the language left. Additionally, it may cause Native people some displeasure and discomfort to label their language as foreign in a nation that their existence pre-dates. In response, NACIE recommended that Congress classify Native languages under World Language instead and be allowed to satisfy non-English language proficiency requirements. Another problem that communities like Red Rock face is that Native language instructors are often subject to teacher certification programs that are unrealistic for elders and other community members. Since the community is rural, enrolling in any kind of program would require the teacher to travel at least thirty minutes to and from their destination and takes away time spent in the community teaching and passing on their knowledge to others. So, NACIE recommended that Congress clarify in future legislation that teachers of Native languages in schools should be certified by their communities.

With the advocacy provided by organizations like NACIE and NIEA, programming offered by the Indian Education program at Frontier Public Schools gives students opportunities to engage in cultural and language activities, discuss concepts that they would not otherwise be

⁸² National Advisory Council on Indian Education. *Annual Report to Congress*. 2016.

learning about (tribal sovereignty, self-determination, identity, food sovereignty, etc.), and cultivates interest and involvement in their own community.

The Otoe-Missouria Head Start program serves children ages 3 to 5 in Noble and southern Kay counties in north central Oklahoma. The program is a federally funded low-income pre-school program which serves about 40 children. The program, which is vital to parents and guardians in the area, promotes the inclusion of Otoe heritage in the curriculum, children learn the Jiwere language, dances, and basic cultural traditions. The program also intends to teach children “the importance of knowing where they come from, where they’ve been, and where they are going.”⁸³

Otoe-Missouria’s Youth Department operates four programs for tribal youth, including the After School Program, the Summer Youth Program, Outdoor Youth Mission, and the ASCEND initiative. On many of the flyers and applications for different programs, the following is typically included:

The tribal youth are the future of the tribe and their success dictates the success of the tribe. The tribal youth programs were created to nurture, guide, assist, teach and inspire the next generation of Otoe-Missouria people through physical activity, cultural teaching and leadership development.

After school programs are integral to the social fabric of most communities. The programs often offer a solution to parents and guardians who need to fill the gap of time when school is out for the day and when the caretaker gets off work and prevents children from going home to empty houses, providing them with a safe environment. The Otoe-Missouria After School Program was designed for educational and recreational activities for 1st through 8th graders. The program

⁸³ “Head Start,” The Otoe-Missouria Tribe, accessed June 20, 2018, <http://www.omtribe.org/what-we-do-head-start>.

operates four days per week and provides transportation for children home at the end of the day, saving gas for many caretakers since the community is rural and spread out.

The goal of the Otoe-Missouria Language Department is to preserve and revitalize the tribal language. The Language Department works with other departments that are interested in language for their programs. The department regularly works with the youth at the Otoe-Missouria Head Start and the After School Program to expose children to the language, its sounds, and its orthography. Currently, the Language Department primarily records and researches the language by locating less-accessible documents and books, interviewing tribal members, digitizing audio and video media, and performing linguistic analysis. The department also develops materials for Facebook and social media such as language lessons, coloring pages, etc. The department also typically sends a group of youth to the Native American Youth Language Fair held at the Sam Noble Museum of Natural History at the University of Oklahoma each spring (bringing home a few awards along the way).

When participants of the Young Adult survey were asked what their preferred method of learning a language, 100% of respondents answered that conversation was their preferred method, followed closely by textbooks/written materials (90%), and then listening to audio (tapes, CDs, etc.), watching videos, apps (Duolingo, Rosetta Stone, etc.), and immersion (each 70% of respondents). This indicates that learners of Jiwere-Nut'achi are most interested in instruction that is less formal and involves interpersonal communication but also involves a textbook or written material to perhaps refer back to for separate study. The OMTHPO Community Cultural Interest survey asked participants if they had ever attended an Otoe-Missouria language program sponsored by the tribe and then to specify which programs if so. About 72% of survey responses stated that they had not attended a language program sponsored

by the tribe. Of the ‘yes’ respondents, many answered that they attended language classes sponsored by the tribe, starting with Bill Tohee’s classes in the 1970s continuing on to classes run by Truman Black then to the classes held by Kennetha Greenwood in Edmond, OK and the language department in Red Rock, OK.⁸⁴ Additionally, the THPO survey asked participants, *Would you be interested in attending Otoe-Missouria language classes?* Out of the possible answers highly interested, somewhat interested, and not interested, only 14 responses (7.41%) out of 189 answered that they would **not** be interested in attending classes.⁸⁵ These survey responses show that there is a strong interest in learning the language.

Learner Agency, Identity, Anxiety, and Insecurity

Agency, identity, anxiety, and insecurity are all sociocultural factors that can affect how someone learns anything, but especially a language. Agency, meaning that individuals act independently and make their own choices, can be affected by structures such as class, ethnicity, gender, religion, customs, etc. For Jiwere-Nut’achi people, agency can be affected by geographic location – it is difficult to attend language classes if you live away from the tribal base, by gender – some spaces can feel unsafe to be in for survivors of violence if both parties are present in class, and by customs – some were simply taught that the language isn’t worth learning. All survey participants reported that they would have been interested in taking a Jiwere language class in school and most reported an interest in participating in language revitalization. One of the most telling pieces of data collected through the surveys was the reasoning for learning Jiwere. The most selected reasons were that participants wanted to strengthen their tribal

⁸⁴ Otoe-Missouria Tribal Historical Preservation Office, *Community Cultural Interest Survey Raw Data*, 2017, 27-29.

⁸⁵ Ibid., 29.

identity, to better understand their culture, and because their ancestors spoke it (Fig. 6). Here, a connection between agency and identity becomes clear.

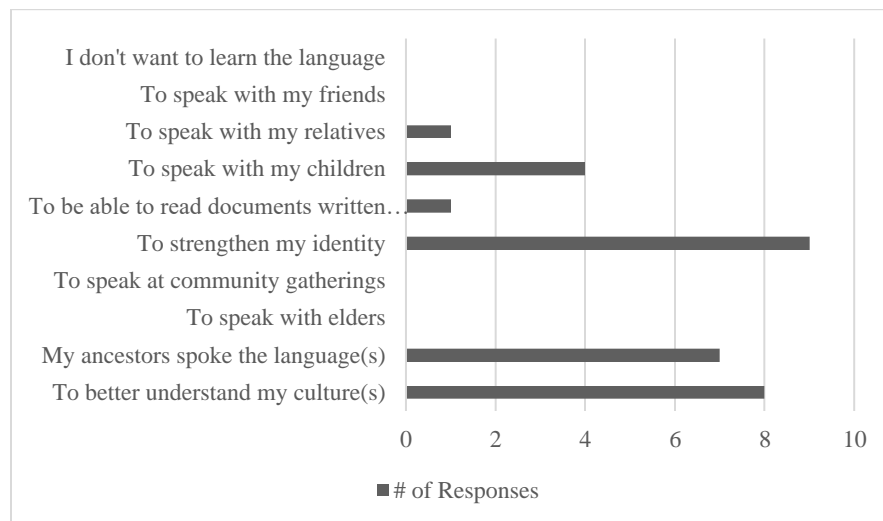


Figure 6: Please choose what you think are the top 3 reasons to learn Jiwere

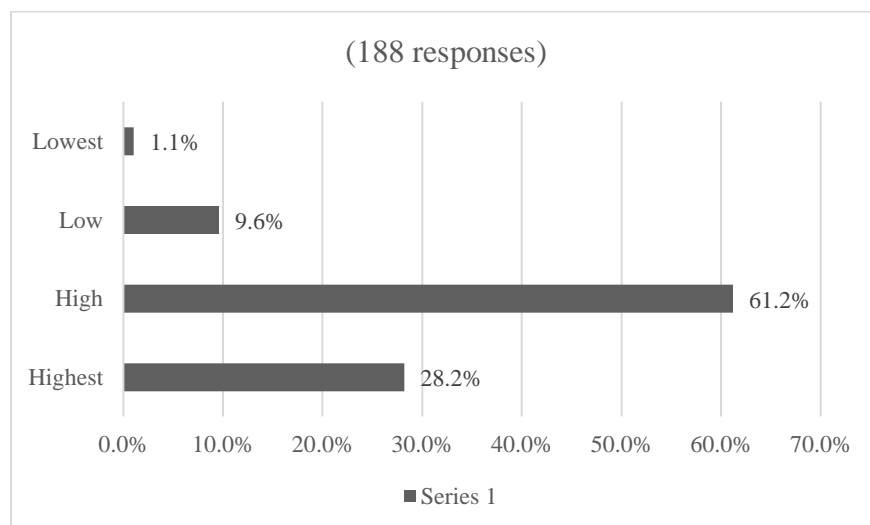


Figure 7: Please rate culture/historic preservation in order of importance to you in your DAILY life.

The answers to the question of *What prevents you from participating more in cultural activities/events?* were taken from the OMTHPO Community Cultural Interest Survey. This question in particular was open-ended so I analyzed the 172 answers and attempted to sort them

into eight categories: 1) Distance or location; 2) Time (work, family schedules); 3) Individual personal issues (interest, motivation, shyness, anxiety, health); 4) Tribal and familial connections; 5) Transportation and money; 6) Mourning; 7) Event advertising; and 8) Other. Of the 172 answers, there were about 200 different reasons expressed with some answers having more than one, so the percentages listed below are out of 200.⁸⁶

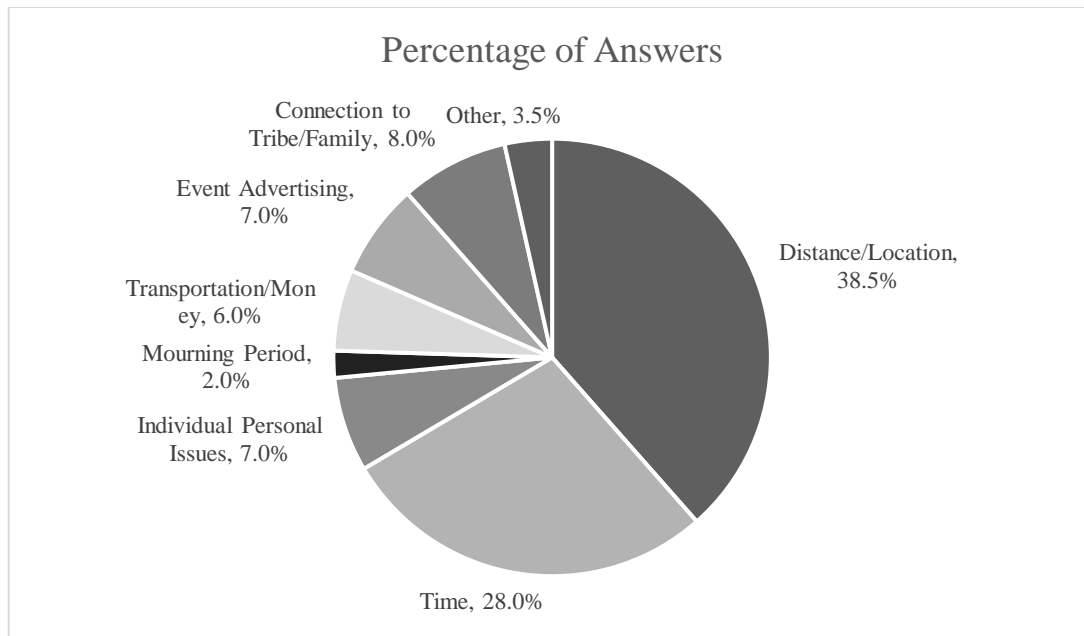


Figure 8: What prevents you from participating more in cultural events/activities?

Distance from the tribe and locations of respondent's lives were the most reported reasons for why they weren't able to participate more in cultural activities or events, at roughly 38.5%. The Time category included answers that mentioned the time of day or week that events are held and incompatible work and family schedules. Unsurprisingly, this was the second most mentioned reason for not participating more. The third largest category was Tribal and Family Connections, which were mostly centered around tribal knowledge not being passed from one

⁸⁶ Otoe-Missouria Tribal Historical Preservation Office, *Community Cultural Interest Survey Raw Data*, 2017, 15-20.

generation to the next, drama between families, and the feeling of being an outsider or not being accepted within the community. Individual Personal Issues included mentions of lack of interest, no motivation, health issues, and shyness or anxiety. The Mourning category included answers which stated that they didn't participate more due to being in mourning, as it is traditional to not go around these events after a loved one has passed for at least year. These five categories are largely out of the control of the tribal departments and groups which host events.

When asked why they participate in cultural events and activities, respondents answered that they did so because of individual factors like carrying on traditions, family (whether it be for the sake of elders or children), and to strengthen their identity as Jiwere people. External forces or wider societal factors like a sense of obligation, duty, or responsibility were also prevalent in many answers. For example, one participant stated, "A sense of family obligation to our ancestors." Another respondent stated that participating in cultural events and activities "teaches us good values to live by." This question draws out the ideas about agency, responsibility, and motivation that are central to understanding that status of Jiwere as not only a culture but the language as well. Statements from the OMTHPO Community Cultural Interest Survey tie attaining language fluency as essential to Jiwere identity and membership in the tribal community, i.e. "To know the language is to know my people" and "Language is the tribe, without it, we cease to exist."⁸⁷

Cultural markers that participants noted as important included knowing their clan and its traditional responsibilities, participation in encampment, memorial dinners and funerals, and knowledge of tribal history. Other important knowledge and practices were the kinship system,

⁸⁷ Otoe-Missouria Tribal Historical Preservation Office, *Community Cultural Interest Survey Raw Data*, 2017, 26-27.

i.e. the knowledge that your mother's brother is considered a father and your father's sister is considered a mother, thus your cousins are siblings; your family tree or ancestry; gourd dancing (given to the Otoes by the Kiowa people); and peyote ceremonies. Significant material culture included sage, cedar, sweetgrass, water, eagles, and peyote. All of these cultural markers noted as important by community members can be included as aspects that strengthen one's identity as a Jiwere/Nut'achi person.

Indigenous Spirituality and Traditionalism

Many of the sentiments relayed to OMTHPO through their Community Cultural Interest Survey carry a spiritual aspect to them, particularly in relation to communicating with the Creator and our ancestors. One survey response to the question of why they wanted to attain fluency was, "Our language is a part of who we are when Waconda [sic] created us." Other participants stated, "I want to be able to talk with the old ones when I go to meet them" and "Because that is how they conversed to one another long time ago and its something that needs to be kept alive." The survey also asked participants what ceremonies, traditions, social and religious activities were important to them, their tribal community, and future generations. Out of 191 respondents, 166 indicated that the annual Otoe-Missouria summer encampment in July was important, along with our history (147 responses), funerals, memorial dinners and services, (134 responses each), and language (119 responses).⁸⁸

⁸⁸ Ibid., 9-12.

Individual Factors

Age and Timing of L2 Acquisition

The OMTHPO Cultural Interest Survey included 39 responses from participants aged 1-29 years, amounting to 20.4% of the total responses.⁸⁹ The question of when and how long L2 learners were exposed to the language matters in the context of Jiwere because as mentioned in Chapter 3, it is a pervasive idea in the collective knowledge of society. When I talk to family or friends about my studies and work, they will often say “Oh yes, you have to start teaching the language as soon as children are born, otherwise they’ll never get it!” In the Young Adult Survey, participants were asked to rate the statement “Only children can learn multiple languages” on a scale from 1 to 5, 1 being strongly disagree and 5 being strongly agree. Of the 10 responses, results indicated that 9 respondents strongly disagreed, 1 respondent disagreed, with no participants being neutral or agreeing with the statement.

Ideologies, Attitudes, Motivation, Investment

Community members’ attitudes towards and ideologies about their own language are important because typically, there isn’t a consensus, but they can give language programs and movements an idea of how to best proceed in their development and implementation. When the OMTHPO Community Cultural Interest Survey asked the follow-up question of why language fluency was a goal for participants, many of the 96 answers alluded to common and prevalent ideologies regarding language revitalization. Specifically, respondents made statements about how they didn’t want the language to be lost, that the language should be kept alive or kept from dying, and that the language should be preserved.⁹⁰ In the Young Adult Survey, participants were

⁸⁹ Ibid., 1.

⁹⁰ Ibid., 25-27.

asked, *In your opinion, what is the importance of knowing the Jiwere language and culture in today's world?* The same types of answers were prevalent in this survey as well. Participants mentioned revitalization and not wanting to lose the language, staying connected to relatives past, present, and future as well as Mother Earth, identity as Jiwere-Nut'achi people, and seeing it as a duty or responsibility to learn. One participant stated, "It is another way to view components of our culture through the lens of the Jiwere language which symbolically moves far beyond conversing. It is a form of seeing another view of the world without all the antagonisms [of English]." This is a particularly important statement because it touches on the idea that language is pillar of one's worldview and how one processes information. For example, in terms of learning Jiwere as an English language speaker, it means changing the way someone structures their sentences. For transitive verbs, English is a <subject – verb – object> word order language with interchangeable direct and indirect object placement, i.e.:

I gave them tobacco.

I gave tobacco to them.

However, Jiwere is a <subject – direct object – indirect object – verb> word order language and an agglutinating language, so verbs also contain the agent (person doing the action, in this case) and patient (person being acted upon). Additionally, the separate subject phrase (I or me) can be dropped from the sentence entirely if the emphasis is not needed.

- (3) *Ranyi wohak'ų ke/ki.*
 tobacco 3PL.P-1SG.A-STEM DECL
 tobacco – them-I-give– declarative sentence ender
 'I gave them tobacco.'

- (4) *wohak'ų*
wa-ha-uk'ų
 3PL.P-1SG.A-STEM
 'I gave them'

This system requires learners and speakers to think about who or what is involved (subject and objects) first and then about action, description, and state of being (verbs).

Young Adult survey participants were asked to rate several statements about learning and revitalizing Jiwere on a scale from strongly disagree (1) to strongly agree (5). Results indicated that the majority (at least 7 out of 10) participants agreed that 1) The Jiwere language is worth learning; 2) We should work hard to revitalize the Jiwere language; 3) It is important for current or future children to learn Jiwere language and culture; 4) If one learns Jiwere, they will have plenty of chances to use it; 5) Knowing how to speak Jiwere is valuable outside of the tribal community; and 6) Revitalizing the Jiwere language is a realistic idea. Only one of the statements ('You cannot be a real Indian unless you speak your language') inspired several different opinions (see Fig. 9).

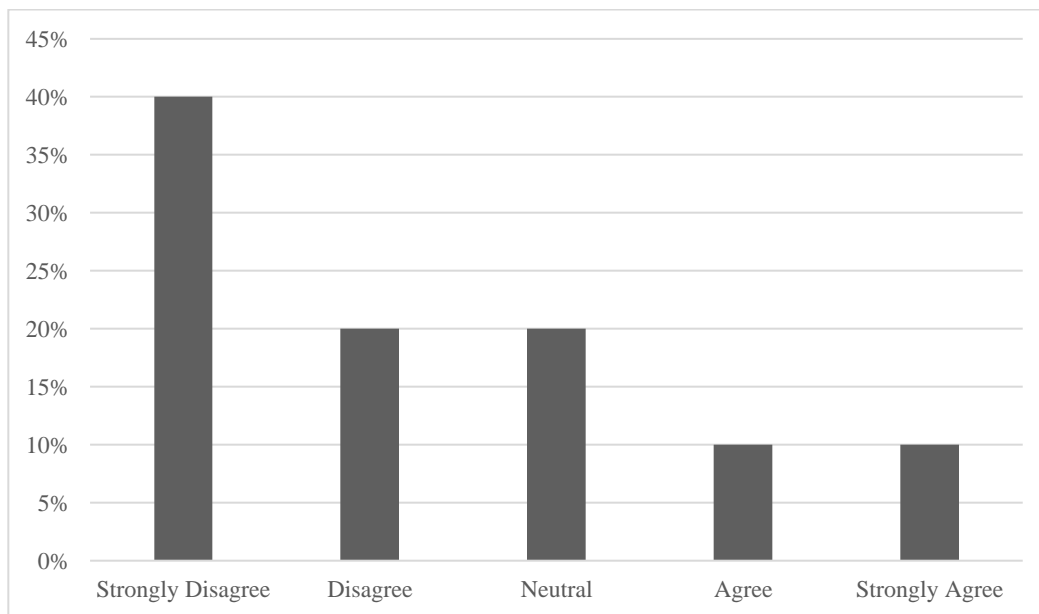


Figure 9: You cannot be a real Indian unless you speak your language

In terms of motivation to learn the language, Young Adult survey participants rated themselves as highly to extremely motivated. When asked if they felt motivated to learn, all

participants answered in the affirmative. In terms of investment, Young Adult survey participants rated themselves as moderately to extremely invested in the language and the community. When asked how participants would define success and what makes someone successful, goal achievement and attainment was a major characteristic of success. Other answers included hard work, responsibility, and passion. Most Young Adult survey respondents considered themselves to be successful or on the road to success (7 of 10), while 100 percent answered that they had achieved goals either set by themselves or by other people. Participants defined achievement as setting a milestone and completing or surpassing that milestone. Participants identified many types of achievement, ranging from academic (graduating), athletic, personal (getting a job, moving to new places), financial, to cultural. Lastly, the Young Adult Survey asked participants: *Do you believe tribal language, culture, and traditions can help someone be more successful and achieve academic, professional, and personal goals?* 70 percent of respondents answered ‘Yes’ and 30 percent answered ‘Maybe.’

Chapter 6: Conclusion

Analysis of Data

I use David Shaul's laws of language revitalization as a framework conclude my analysis of the data collected by myself and the OMTHPO and provide my thoughts on how the language community in Red Rock should move forward in the future and update the status of the language. By using Shaul's laws of language revitalization as a framework, I hope to bring light to where there are gaps between community and young adult attitudes and ideologies and the realities of Jiwere language status.

Shaul's first 'law' of language revitalization is that "Language revitalization and revival is directly proportional to resources (funding, personnel, time available, motivation), of which motivation is the overriding factor."⁹¹ Reclaiming a language that has not had fluent speakers for at least 20 some odd years is a massive undertaking for a community. It requires dedicated individuals and structures that must be trained and shaped by language documentation, analysis, and acquisition.⁹² It also requires funding, "especially for a dispersed population (which may not be a functioning speech community in the first place)."⁹³ Reasons for lack of participation due to transportation and money is a category that can, in some cases, be addressed by the tribe itself. For example, shuttles from Red Rock town, the Village, and the Tribal Complex could be arranged for language and cultural events or gas vouchers could be used as an incentive to attend these events. Another category which the tribe has control over is timely and informational event advertisement. Several respondents stated that they often did not know about cultural events until *after* they had already occurred. Part of creating an effective language program includes long-

⁹¹ Shaul, 55.

⁹² Ibid., 56.

⁹³ Ibid.

term and short-term planning. Planning out events and programs allows for a project to advertise for events well ahead of their actual occurrence giving would-be participants time to schedule it into their lives, arrange for transportation and gas vouchers, and reserve spaces for the events, classes, etc.

Shaul's second 'law' of language revitalization states, "Purism in language revitalization and revival is directly proportional to the design of the heritage target language."⁹⁴ As was mentioned in Chapter 5, the design of Jiwere structure is very different from English and requires learners to flip how they structure their sentences and thoughts to speak and be understood. Purism is also hard to achieve when documentation of the language is incomplete and fluent native speakers have passed away. As Shaul outlines, when rebuilding or reviving a language, purism is "inherent to the project, and directly limits the effectiveness of revitalization."⁹⁵ While Jiwere has a plethora of documentation to draw from when creating curriculum and to simply learn the structure of the language, the language could benefit from a group or council of stakeholders who can provide a consensus on topics such as the creation of new words, guidance on grammar, and anything that could fall in between. The creation of such a group could provide greater ease of learning and also a structure under which to encourage standardization of the language so that it may reach wider audiences.

Shaul's third 'law' of language revitalization states, "Language revitalization and revival is directly proportional to ease of learning."⁹⁶ Drawing from the data collected, it seems that there is no ease. Participants in the OMTHPO Community Cultural Interest survey stated they would prefer a mobile or computer applications, online course, Facebook page, YouTube videos,

⁹⁴ Ibid.

⁹⁵ Ibid.

⁹⁶ Shaul, 55.

or Quiz Bowl-style of learning if they were not able to attend classes in person or to simply use as study aids.⁹⁷ These preferences point to two factors that are closely tied to ease of learning: time spent exposed to language and the way a learner is exposed to the language. Mobile or computer applications (such as Duolingo, Rosetta Stone) and online learning (Blackboard, Canvas, etc.) which do not include human to human interaction leaves little room for learning from error correction or natural acquisition of language as opposed to rote memorization of structures and words or pre-scripted responses. Any kind of dissemination of the language (that will eventually result in fluency or as close to fluency as possible) must include an appropriate amount of time spent immersed in learning or hearing the language spoken as well as reviewing that information and using the language in appropriate contexts. In the case of Jiwere, the planning of different types and levels of learning would be beneficial to the community in terms of making it easier to learn the language. Shaul states that a basic knowledge of a language might include: respect for and positive awareness of the heritage language, ability to pronounce and read the heritage language, greetings, leave-taking, and other general language use, ability to meaningfully perform things like prayers and songs, understanding of mottoes, proverbs, inside jokes, etc., and basic conversation (weather, seasons, numbers for age and time of day, daily routine, personal situation and background, etc.).⁹⁸ A problem that Indigenous language programs or teachers planning out curriculum can fall into is comparison to other languages such as Spanish or French which are more widely taught with existing extensive curriculums plans and activities and trying to fit their language into those existing structures. Planning out a thoughtful and intention curriculum requires programs to know what material they intend to teach, the order

⁹⁷ Otoe-Missouria Tribal Historical Preservation Office, *Community Cultural Interest Survey Raw Data*, 2017, 30-32.

⁹⁸Shaul, 57.

in which that material should be taught, how that material should be presented, and how the material will be reviewed and reinforced for learners.

As supported by many of the comments by OMTHPO survey participants, technology is a huge component in the ease of language learning.⁹⁹ Online platforms can offer 24/7 access (as long as internet is available) to language lessons and practice with other learners. Technology can help support the different aspects of communication: presentational speaking and writing, interpretive reading and listening, and interpersonal communication. Technology can provide access to audio and historical records of the language. Obviously, there are concerns with technology, programs or communities may feel that technology has the potential to replace language bearers or that putting language out into the world on the internet poses a security risk or expose it to people outside of the language community. There are many ways of circumventing these potential problems, such as requiring a password for use of a website, application, or other technology. In cases where communities (like Jiwere) have no fluent native speakers, technology can aid in communication between teachers, language bearers, and learners. As long as the technology allows learners to have intentional, meaningful, and sustained communication in the language, technology can help grow learners and a community of speakers.

When asked what types of Otoe-Missouria language instruction would be most helpful to them, participants in the OMTHPO Community Cultural Interest survey answered that 1) classroom learning with language lessons (47.43% - 83 responses), 2) individual learning materials (40.57% - 71 responses), and 3) one on one mentorship (40.00% - 70 responses) would

⁹⁹ Otoe-Missouria Tribal Historical Preservation Office, *Community Cultural Interest Survey Raw Data*, 2017, 12-14.

be the most helpful. Other answers included a combination of small group learning and individual materials, weekly meetings for practice, informal settings (coffee, meals, etc.), online classes, mobile apps, audio/video lessons, booklets which are mailed out to participants with weekly tests, web series, full immersion, and mandatory tribal employee language classes.¹⁰⁰ These survey results indicate what Shaul outlines – interaction between learners and speakers/language bearers and an organized system in which to learn the language.

Shaul's fourth 'law' of language revitalization states, "Linguistic ideology of a potential heritage language speech community directly affects the outcome of any possible language revitalization or revival."¹⁰¹ Shaul makes two points about motivation and the outcome of language revitalization and revival that are particularly important to reiterate. The first of these is that learners must have a reason for learning since it does require setting aside time in one's schedule, sometimes a large portion. The second is that language must have a real use and emotional value which motivates them to learn and to use it in real life contexts. This means that at some level, the language community's ideology is that learning and using the language is a valuable endeavor.

Shaul states, "The self-fulfilling prophecy (in this case: "once a language is dead, it's nearly impossible to revive it") must be gradually worn down by proving otherwise, starting with baby steps and progressing gradually into limited contexts of language use and then possibly onto fuller, near-fluent use of the language."¹⁰² Those who work outside of linguistics and education might underestimate the amount of work and time required to create curriculum for language revival or expect classes to magically produce fluent speakers within

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., 31-32.

¹⁰¹ Shaul, 55.

¹⁰² Ibid., 57.

weeks of beginning but the reality is that it requires a lot of incremental progress to achieve even the smallest of accomplishments. Language classes, language teachers, activities, technology, applications, projects, and the like are not made overnight. They must be given appropriate time and effort to exist in intentional, efficient, and effective ways.

In the Young Adult Survey, participants were asked if the instruction of Jiwere language and culture had a place in [formal] schooling. 8 of 10 participants answered that it does have a place in school. When asked **who** should be teaching the class, 9 of 10 participants answered that an Otoe-Missouria tribal member should teach, followed by a tribal elder (7 participants), a certified teacher regardless of tribal affiliation (6 participants), and lastly a community member (5 participants). Participants were then asked who should be involved in **implementing** the Jiwere language and culture curriculum in schools. The community (10 responses) was the top answer followed by parents/family, students, and tribe (9 responses each), with the school (6 responses) last.

Additionally, OMTHPO Community Cultural Interest survey participants were asked to either agree or disagree with several statements. Of 187 total responses to the statement “I am responsible for learning my Otoe-Missouria language and heritage,” 85.56% (160 responses) of participants agreed. In response to the statement “It is Tribal Programs responsibility to teach [the] Otoe-Missouria language,” 53.72% (101 of 188 responses) agreed while 18.09% (34 responses) had no opinion. Lastly, in response to the statement “Family members/elders are responsible for teaching our Otoe-Missouria language,” 66.49% (125 of 188 responses) agreed, with 17.02% (32 responses) having no opinion.¹⁰³ This particular set of statements reveals what

¹⁰³ Otoe-Missouria Tribal Historical Preservation Office, *Community Cultural Interest Survey Raw Data*, 2017, 33.

people think (their ideology) about agency and responsibility in language revitalization. For the most part, the data indicates that people think it is **their** personal responsibility to learn the language. There is a 30% and 20% drop compared to it being tribal program responsibility and family/elder responsibility respectively. Participants of the OMTHPO Community Cultural Interest survey were also asked, *If you are willing to help with the Otoe-Missouria language program, in what ways would you be able to serve?* 29 respondents (22.48%) stated they would be willing to hold language groups in their home with support from the language program, 34 respondents (26.36%) said they would be willing to teach other tribal members language in a class setting, 41 respondents (31.78%) said they would be willing to serve as a resource to the program, and 77 respondents (59.69%) said they would be willing to volunteer to develop language materials. The survey results indicate that each group of stakeholders in the revival and revitalization of Jiwere has a different role to play and responsibility to uphold.

Moving Forward

What can individuals do to support the language as well as their own learning efforts?

Individual learners, tribal members, and community members can attend any and all language classes that they are able to go to. Participation and demonstrated interest in these events inform language staff and signal to tribal administration and council that there is a critical mass of people who want to learn and support the program. Parents and guardians of students who attend Otoe-Missouria Head Start and go to the After School Program or are enrolled in the Frontier High School Otoe-Missouria Language class can ask their students about their language lessons. Asking what students learned and having them repeat what they learned creates intergenerational language transmission from the bottom up instead of top down, i.e. child to

parent/guardian to elder as opposed to elder to parent/guardian to child. Individuals can also use the Community Resource Guide (Appendix B) included at the end of this document to access the resources that I've used to learn this language. This language needs not only teachers, but also application developers, coders, game developers. This language needs people trained in curriculum development, classroom management, child development, and community development. This language needs people who know how to write funding proposals and requests. This language also needs people who are willing to devote time, energy, and resources to their learning.

What institutional structures can be created to strengthen and provide continuity for the language?

Institutionally, the language needs dedicated space that can be used to host events, classes, seminars, and workshops, as well as house employees and an archive that can hold the abundance of language documentation which is scattered across the United States and beyond. Additionally, the language and its learners could benefit from a standardization of the language. This means that older materials could be updated for modern usage by using the modern orthography which is used by the Otoe-Missouria Language Department.

On a programmatic level, there are several gaps in resources to make the language easier to learn. The first is the development of a language keyboard available to all smartphone and computer users (regardless of platform and operating system) that contains the special characters the current orthography employs. LanguageGeek, a website run by Christopher Harvey, offers keyboards for Mac and Windows users for several Siouan languages, such as Crow, Dakota, Hidatsa, Ho-Chunk, Kaw, Lakota, and Pan-Siouan. These are useful but they are not available for newer devices such as tablets and Chromebooks. Turning to related technologies, the

development of a mobile and computer application which supports human-to-human interaction in the language and offers feedback on pronunciation and spelling (error correction) would be beneficial to learners. An endeavor such as this would require a complete curriculum with planned sequences and accompanying print language “textbooks” and activities for those who are without access to Internet. While the current online dictionary hosted by the Otoe-Missouria Language Department is extremely helpful, there are improvements that can be made in terms of usability. It would also be helpful for the dictionary to be made available as a print edition to use in classrooms or for those who do not have access to the Internet.

Final Conclusions and Future Research

I stated in my introduction that adults in Otoe-Missouria community have no dedicated program in which they are given the appropriate or adequate level of language and culture instruction to produce progressive skill acquisition. I also stated young adults are the central catalysts for the language reclamation movement for the Otoe-Missouria Tribe because they are uniquely situated in a generation between the youngest children and their own parents, have children already, or are beginning to have children of their own. They are the generation who are able to decide if they will learn the language and pass it on to those younger than them or to pass it on to their children from birth. Lastly, I stated that all members of the community carry certain responsibilities in regard to reversing language loss which will be discussed in later chapters. My research aimed to answer questions of how young people felt about learning the Jiwere language, if learning Jiwere helped them feel like they are more connected with the Jiwere community, how much of a factor their ethnic, cultural, and linguistic identity is in their motivation to learn Jiwere, and if they feel learning Jiwere or being culturally involved is connected to their success

or achievement. These questions were important for me to investigate because I wanted to understand the true language status of our community.

When I first started, I thought that the data would show a connection between strong cultural, ethnic, and linguistic identities and higher rates of success and achievement in life, whether it was academic, professional, athletic, or personal success/achievement. In order to make this connection, my data would need to show the majority of the participants felt they had a strong foundation in their cultural, ethnic, or linguistic identity and they felt they had achieved academic, professional, athletic, or personal success or achievement. As was discussed in Chapter 5, the survey participants reported that they would have been interested in taking a Jiwere language class in school and most reported an interest in participating in language revitalization. The most selected reason for learning the language was that participants wanted to strengthen their tribal identity, to better understand their culture, and because their ancestors spoke it. While this data collected shows that knowing language and culture is tied to their identity as Jiwere people, none of it draws out the question of whether or not they feel like they have a strong pre-existing foundation for their ethnic, cultural, and linguistic identity. To address this gap, future research could be done to find the answer to that question. Additionally, participants described goal achievement and attainment as a major characteristic of success and most survey respondents considered themselves to be successful or on the road to success (7 of 10), while 100 percent answered that they had achieved goals either set by themselves or by other people. Lastly, participants were asked *Do you believe tribal language, culture, and traditions can help someone be more successful and achieve academic, professional, and personal goals?* 70 percent of respondents answered ‘Yes’ and 30 percent answered ‘Maybe.’ While a connection between strong identity and success and achievement can’t be drawn from

this research, it does show that in this group of participants, there is a belief that knowing one's tribal language, culture, and traditions might help someone be more successful and achieve their goals, whatever they may be.

Jiwere is considered an endangered language by the academic community because there are no first language speakers left. However, I personally don't believe it is constructive or helpful for the speaker community to frame our language situation in terms with implied negative connotations such as extinct, dead, asleep, moribund, or dormant. I think it is more helpful for the academic community to discuss languages like Jiwere in realistic terms that are drawn from the communities themselves. For example, I am not personally inclined to believe that a language is 'extinct' when there has never ceased to be second language speakers (whether they are fluent or not) or rememberers (people who remember the language but don't speak it) and there is a plethora of written, audio, and visual documentation. Framing lack of speakers as something that is as heavy and heartbreaking as the loss of an entire language without acknowledging the settler-colonial systemic cultural and linguistic genocide that occurred to bring the language community to that point is irresponsible and can leave language community members feeling guilty for not knowing their language or like it is their fault the language isn't being spoken. I aim to reframe this conversation from a Jiwere perspective, instead of trying to be understood and accepted by the Western frame of reference. It benefits non-tribal members or people with no community responsibilities if languages are framed as endangered, dead, extinct, or any other word that denotes some sort of finality because it leaves no room for dissension, no space for those with an actual stake in the language, and no community to answer to, because after all, tribal members and community stakeholders will only find out when they gain access to those institutions and publications in which they are researched and written about. It affords non-

tribal members and people without community responsibilities to gain research funding, teaching positions, fellowships, and to publish based on their research of the communal intellectual property of tribes, instead of tribal members and those working for and with the community themselves. Treating this language (and other languages) as subject to be studied and documented rather than a living entity which is held in deep reverence and care by its learners, remembers, and speakers is unfair to those people. At one end of the spectrum, it can diminish the work being done within the community and at the other, it can ignore or leave out the community completely. Treating the language as a living entity helps Jiwere-Nut'achi people decide what is justified belief versus opinion about what it means to *be* Jiwere-Nut'achi. Telling a community it's language is dead and extinct elicits an emotional response because it is an emotional and spiritual subject for many. Language is both a means of communication and a symbol of our heritage and ethnic identity, acting as a connection to one another in the present but it is also a bridge to our maker, our creator, Wakanda, and that sacred realm, a channel to our ancestors. When I speak Jiwere-Nut'achi and Baxoje to my high school class at Frontier, when I make a prayer before a meal, even when I say *Hqwe pi!* 'Good Morning/Day' to someone on the tribal campus, I feel my ancestors within me. I get emotional when I speak about the importance of our language to us as Jiwere-Nut'achi people but I am filled with pride and a spirit to persevere.

I am trying to paint the most complete picture of the Jiwere language community as possible so that all Jiwere language learners are encouraged to keep going. Knowing what at least a sample of the population or those who were interested in responding to surveys about language and culture thinks about teaching the language, what they want in future language programs, and what should be included is extremely helpful in considering how future teaching

can be Indigenized and how to create a Jiwere pedagogical approach to language teaching because participants continually pointed to language learning that was “less formal,” which could be interpreted as less colonized or less Western. It is my hope that through this research, some Jiwere, Nut’achi, or Baxoje person feels empowered to do the work and make it their responsibility to carry on the language, to do their own research, to correct the narrative when it is wrong.

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Appendix A: Young Adult Survey

1. Are you 18 or older?
 - a. Yes
 - b. No
2. Do you agree to participation in this research?
 - a. Yes
 - b. No

Language Status

3. Did anyone in your family speak Jiwere when you were growing up? (Check all that apply.)
 - a. Mother
 - b. Father
 - c. Grandmother
 - d. Grandfather
 - e. Aunt
 - f. Uncle
 - g. Cousin
 - h. Sibling
 - i. Other relative
 - j. No one spoke Jiwere.
 - k. Other: _____
4. Does anyone in your home speak Jiwere? (Check all that apply.)
 - a. Mother
 - b. Father
 - c. Grandmother
 - d. Grandfather
 - e. Aunt
 - f. Uncle
 - g. Cousin
 - h. Sibling
 - i. Other relative
 - j. Yourself
 - k. No one speaks Jiwere
 - l. Other: _____
5. Does anyone in your community speak Jiwere? (Check all that apply.)
 - a. Mother
 - b. Father
 - c. Grandmother
 - d. Grandfather
 - e. Aunt
 - f. Uncle

- g. Cousin
- h. Sibling
- i. Other relative
- j. No one speaks Jiwere.
- k. Other: _____

6. If someone you know speaks Jiwere, where do they speak? (Check all that apply.)

- a. Everywhere
- b. At home
- c. At NAC meetings
- d. At dances/powwow
- e. At funerals
- f. At community dinners
- g. At school
- h. At Elder Center
- i. N/A
- j. Other: _____

7. If someone you know speaks Jiwere, with whom do they speak? (Check all that apply.)

- a. With spouse
- b. With children
- c. With relatives
- d. With yourself
- e. With the community
- f. N/A
- g. Other: _____

8. Have you ever studied or learned Jiwere? (Mark only one.)

- a. Yes
- b. No

9. If so, where did you study or learn? (Check all that apply.)

- a. On my own
- b. Head Start
- c. Elementary
- d. Middle School/Junior High
- e. High School
- f. Through Tribe
- g. Growing up
- h. I didn't
- i. Other: _____

Rank your Jiwere language ability on the scale below.

Please choose the option that best describes your ability. Mark only one option on each question.

10. Understanding Jiwere when someone else speaks.

	1	2	3	4	5	
No ability	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	High ability

11. Understanding prayers or songs (ex. hymns).

	1	2	3	4	5	
No ability	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	High ability

12. Understanding commands (ex. Stop!/Wash your hands).

	1	2	3	4	5	
No ability	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	High ability

13. Ability to make songs; prayers; speeches.

	1	2	3	4	5	
No ability	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	High ability

14. Ability to converse with others.

	1	2	3	4	5	
No ability	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	High ability

15. Ability to recite vocabulary and phrases.

	1	2	3	4	5	
No ability	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	High ability

16. Ability to read Jiwere.

	1	2	3	4	5	
No ability	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	High ability

17. Ability to write in Jiwere.

	1	2	3	4	5	
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No ability	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	High ability
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Language Interest and Attitudes

The following questions will be used to assess interest in the language(s) and community attitudes about the language(s).

18. Looking back at your K-12 education, would you have been interested in taking a Jiwere language class at school? (Mark only one answer.)

- a. Yes
- b. No

19. What is your preferred method of learning a language? (Check all that apply.)

- a. Listening to audio (tapes, CDs, etc.)
- b. Watching videos
- c. Conversation
- d. Textbooks/written materials
- e. Mobile/web app (ex. Duolingo, Rosetta Stone)
- f. Class at school
- g. Community class
- h. Immersion
- i. Learning from relatives
- j. I've never learned another language before.
- k. Other: _____

20. Please choose what you think are the top 3 reasons to learn Jiwere. (Check all that apply.)

- a. To better understand my culture(s)
- b. My ancestors spoke the language(s)
- c. To speak with elders
- d. To speak at community gatherings
- e. To strengthen my identity
- f. To be able to read documents written in the language
- g. To speak with my children
- h. To speak with my relatives
- i. To speak with my friends
- j. I don't want to learn the language
- k. Other: _____

For the following section, please rank your reply based on the scale of 1 to 5 where 1 is “strongly disagree” and 5 is “strongly agree.”

Please read each question carefully. Mark only one answer per question.

21. The Jiwere language is worth learning.

	1	2	3	4	5	
Strongly Disagree	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Strongly Agree

22. I am interested in participating in Jiwere language revitalization.

	1	2	3	4	5	
Strongly Disagree	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Strongly Agree

23. We should work hard to revitalize the Jiwere language.

	1	2	3	4	5	
Strongly Disagree	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Strongly Agree

24. It is important that my current or future children learn the Jiwere language and culture.

	1	2	3	4	5	
Strongly Disagree	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Strongly Agree

25. If I learn Jiwere, I will have plenty of chances to use it.

	1	2	3	4	5	
Strongly Disagree	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Strongly Agree

26. Knowing how to speak Jiwere is valuable outside of the tribal community.

	1	2	3	4	5	
Strongly Disagree	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Strongly Agree

27. Jiwere is a difficult language to learn.

	1	2	3	4	5	
Strongly Disagree	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Strongly Agree

28. You cannot be a real Indian unless you speak your language.

	1	2	3	4	5	
Strongly Disagree	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Strongly Agree

29. Revitalization of the Jiwere language is an unrealistic idea.

	1	2	3	4	5	
Strongly Disagree	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Strongly Agree

30. Only children can learn multiple languages.

	1	2	3	4	5	
Strongly Disagree	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Strongly Agree

Culture

The following questions will be used to assess cultural knowledge and interest. Mark only one answer per question.

31. Do you use personal names? Ex. Having an “Indian name,” calling relatives by kinship terms (H̄ina/Mom, H̄inka/Dad)

- a. Yes
- b. No

32. Do you use place names? Ex. Calling cities by their Jiwere name (China Chege It̄u/Oklahoma City, Chi/House)

- a. Yes
- b. No

33. Do you know the traditional responsibilities of your clan?

- a. Yes
- b. No
- c. Somewhat

For the following sections, please rank your knowledge of Jiwere culture and traditions on the scale below. 1 is “no knowledge” and 5 is “expert.”

34. The kinship system(s)

	1	2	3	4	5	
No knowledge	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Expert

35. Hand games

1	2	3	4	5
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No knowledge	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Expert
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36. Indian Dice

	1	2	3	4	5	
No knowledge	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Expert

37. Wake and burial/funeral customs

	1	2	3	4	5	
No knowledge	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Expert

38. Songs

	1	2	3	4	5	
No knowledge	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Expert

39. Powwow

	1	2	3	4	5	
No knowledge	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Expert

40. Tribal history

	1	2	3	4	5	
No knowledge	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Expert

41. Genealogy (family tree)

	1	2	3	4	5	
No knowledge	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Expert

42. If classes were offered, what types of cultural activities/topics would like students to learn about? Examples: beadwork, making regalia, singing, kinship system, history, government, dancing, traditional medicines, traditional foods, clans, child rearing, traditional games.

43. In your opinion, what is the importance of knowing the Jiwere language and culture in today's world?

Teaching Language and Culture in Schools

The following questions will be used to assess community attitude and opinion about language culture curriculum in the public school system.

44. Does the instruction of Jiwere language and culture have a place in school?
- a. Yes
 - b. No
45. Who should be teaching Jiwere language and culture? (Check all that apply.)
- a. Certified teacher (regardless of tribal/cultural/ethnic background)
 - b. Otoe-Missouria tribal member
 - c. Community member
 - d. Tribal elder
 - e. Other: _____
46. Who should be involved in implementing the Jiwere language and culture curriculum in schools? (Check all that apply.)
- a. Parents/family
 - b. Students
 - c. Community
 - d. Tribe(s)
 - e. School
 - d. Other: _____
47. What topics would you like to see covered in a Jiwere class? For example, what types of things would you want to know how to say and do in Jiwere?

Success and Achievement

The following questions will be used to assess ideologies about success and achievement.

48. How would you define success? What makes someone successful? What are characteristics of successful people?
49. Do you consider yourself to be successful? (Mark only one answer.)
- a. Yes
 - b. No
 - c. I'm not sure
 - d. Other: _____
50. How would you define achievement? What types of achievement are there?
51. Have you achieved any goals you set for yourself? (Mark only one answer.)
- a. Yes
 - b. No

- c. I'm not sure
- d. Other: _____

52. Have you achieved any goals set for you by other people? (Mark only one answer.)

- a. Yes
- b. No
- c. I'm not sure
- d. Other: _____

53. In your opinion, who are some examples of successful Jiwere or Indigenous people?

54. What do you think makes them successful?

55. Do you believe tribal language, culture, and traditions can help someone be more successful and achieve academic, professional, and personal goals? (Mark only one answer.)

- a. Yes
- b. No
- c. Maybe
- d. Other: _____

Motivation and Investment

The following questions will be used to assess attitudes about motivation and investment in language learning.

56. Do you feel motivated to learn the Jiwere language?

- a. Yes
- b. No
- c. I'm not sure
- d. Other: _____

57. Why or why not?

58. Are there any programs or people who make you feel like the language is worth learning and speaking?

- a. Yes
- b. No

59. If so, who or what program is it? Why?

60. To what extent are you motivated to learn the language? * "Motivated" meaning your attitude towards and readiness to learn Otoe-Missouria.

	1	2	3	4	5	
Not at all	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Extremely motivated

61. To what extent are you invested in the language and its community? * “Invested” meaning that you feel that you have a stake in the language/community, you care about the future of the language/community, etc.

	1	2	3	4	5	
Not at all	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Extremely invested

Demographics

62. Do you identify as Native American/American Indian/Indigenous?

- a. Yes
- b. No
- c. Other: _____

63. Are you enrolled in a tribe?

- a. Yes
- b. No
- c. Other: _____

64. What tribe(s) do you identify as?

65. Indicate your age:

- a. 18-22
- b. 23-26
- c. 27-30

66. Gender Identity: _____

Appendix B: Community Resource Guide

The purpose of this guide is to aid learners and teachers of Jiwere-Nut’achi language and culture in demystifying sources which have been difficult to use for those without extensive training in linguistics or anthropology. Each resource entry in the guide includes a short description which states what is included in the resource, what it is best used for in the classroom and for self-study (reading, writing, listening, or speaking), how to access the resource, and potential issues or problems with the resource. This guide, however, is in no way intended to be a complete guide to every resource. I have based my recommendations on my understandings of the resources and my experiences using them in a teaching setting. I encourage anyone interested in learning more of the language to get involved with community and tribal efforts to reclaim and revitalize the language. This means people will have to establish connections with one another, do the hard work, and commit time, money, and energy to the movement.

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Sources Available Online

Albert Lamborn Green

"The Otoe Indians" from *Publications of the Nebraska State Historical Society*, volume 21, published 1930.

This resource is [available online](#) as a PDF on the Otoe-Missouria Language Department website. Major Albert Lamborn Green, a Quaker, served as the government agent on the Otoe-Missouria Gage County (NE) reservation for four years (1869-1872). He was appointed by President Ulysses S. Grant. Maj. Green made a record of the Otoe and Missouria tribes' history, language, and culture but he also made a project of putting a stop to our sacred pipe dancing, horse-giving, and other practices that he deemed

detrimental to the federal government's assimilation project. His account of his time with the Otoes and Missourias includes his annual reports, a small world list of adjectives, nouns, verbs (mostly relating to flora, fauna, colors, and basic items), and Otoe culture, history, medicine, and everyday life. It is relatively easy to read and provides a glimpse into life with the Otoes (from a white perspective) in the late 1860s/early 1870s, making it a good resource for historical context. This resource is can also be used for reading and writing exercises, specifically for showing how orthography has changed throughout the years.

William Hamilton and Samuel McLeary Irvin

(The resources authored by William Hamilton and Samuel McLeary Irvin are best reserved for teachers and learners who want more information and background on grammar. They are, in my opinion, not suitable for use in teaching children below high school level.)

Original Hymns in the Ioway Language. Published in Indian Territory at the Ioway and Sac Mission in 1843.

This hymn book is written in the Hamilton/Irvin orthography. It is available online at [Google Books](#) for download. It is also done in the Baxoje dialect while Hamilton and Irvin served at the Ioway and Sac mission during the 1840s. The resources contained three sections: hymns, prayers, and questions. There are no English translations included in this resource, but some of the hymns and questions have counterparts in *An Elementary Book of the Ioway Language with an English Translation*. Again, this resource is best used for reading and writing exercises, specifically for showing how orthography has changed throughout the years.

An Elementary Book of the Ioway Language with an English Translation, published in 1843.

This resource contains vocabulary relating to kinship terms, prayers, Bible verses, hymns, and more. This resource is available online at [Google Books](#) for download. Mostly importantly, this resource has English translations but the Ioway is written in Hamilton/Irvin's orthography. Like the previous resource, it includes a key that will help with sounds and letters. Again, this resource is best used for reading and writing exercises, specifically for showing how orthography has changed throughout the years.

An Ioway Grammar Illustrating the Principles of the Language Used by the Ioway, Otoe and Missouri Indians, published in 1848.

This resource is one of the most detailed for its time. It is still written in Hamilton/Irvin's orthography with English translations. Like the previous resource, it includes a key that will help with sounds and letters. The resource covers the whole system and structure of Ioway (grammar), how sentences are structured and word order (syntax), and how words are formed and built (morphology). This resource is available online at [Google Books](#) for download. Again, this resource is best used for reading and writing exercises, specifically for showing how orthography has changed throughout the years.

Moses Merrill

(Rev. Moses Merrill was a missionary to the Jiwere and Nut'achi in the 1830s. His work evaluates Jiwere and Nut'achi people, cultures, and language according to the standards of his own culture which sought to "help" the tribes converting them to Christianity and abandoning their tribal traditions and ways. Today, this would be categorized as a 'white savior' mentality and ethnocentric point of view.)

Wdtwhlt Wdwdklha Tva Eva Wdhonetl, Marin Awdofka: Otoe Hymn Book, published in Shawannoe Mission, Indian Territory by J. Meeker in 1834.

This hymn book is written entirely in Otoe in Reverend Moses Merrill's orthography. According to the Otoe-Missouria Language Department's website, the title of the book, spelled in the current orthography, would be *Wadotq Wawagaxe Etawe Yqwe Waxonyitq*, "Otoe Hymn Book." This resource is available online at the Otoe-Missouria Language Department website for [download as a PDF](#). The resource contains thirteen hymns with no English translations. Some of the hymns are included with English translations in Merrill's *First Ioway Reading Book*. This resource is listed as being the first book published in Nebraska. As a learner myself, this resource is one of the hardest to understand and decode without a solid understanding of grammar and an orthography/pronunciation key to Merrill's style.

First Ioway Reading Book, published in 1835.

This resource is also [available online](#) (as a PDF) through the Otoe-Missouria Language Department. contains ten hymns with English translations along with a handful of lessons. The ten hymns in this book are among the thirteen hymns in Merrill's previous book *Wdtwhltl Wdwdklha Tva Eva Wdhonetl* (1834). This book also contains a much-needed pronunciation guide to Merrill's orthography.

History of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, published in 1837.

This resource is also [available online](#) (as a PDF) through the Otoe-Missouria Language Department. This resource is essentially Bible verses with no English translations, which trace Jesus Christ's "history." For those attempting to read or learn from this resource, it is suggested that you use a King James Bible to try and match up the verses. The Otoe-Missouria Language Department website states, "The only English in the book comes from the names of the books from the Bible."

Catherine Rudin and Bryan James Gordon (editors)

***Advances in the Study of Siouan Languages and Linguistics*, published in Berlin by**

Language Science Press in 2016.

This resource is [available online](#) as PDF for free (at the time of this writing) on the Language Science Press website. This collection of papers covers the more technical aspects of Siouan languages, such as their similarities and short grammar sketches but also takes a dive into revitalization efforts. The authors that write specifically about Otoe-Missouria/Iowa are Bryan Gordon, Jimm Garrett (Goodtracks), Saul Schwartz (Chapter 7), and Jill D. Greer (Chapter 9). Gordon, Goodtracks, and Schwartz's contribution explains the "Ioway, Otoe-Missouria Language Project." The work presented in Chapter 7 is very informative of that specific revitalization effort and includes Mr. Gordon's phrase list "Phrases in Báxoje Ich'ê Indispensable to Living with a Three-Year Old"). Moving on to Chapter 9, Greer's "Baxoje-Jiwere grammar sketch," which offers brief descriptions of the various parts of grammar: sound system (phonology), nouns, verbs, syntax, and dialect variation. This sketch is useful for those with linguistic training to learn grammar in a more organized and understandable fashion than the grammars from the 1800s. I found Greer's verb complex template (order in which the different parts of Jiwere verbs attach to a root stem) to be the most helpful component.

Jimm Garrett Goodtracks

***Ioway, Otoe-Missouria Language Website:* <http://iowayotoelang.nativeweb.org/index.htm>**

Mr. Garrett's website includes prayers, songs, hymns, personal narratives, traditional stories, census data, clan names and kinship charts, clan origin stories, a bibliography of sources, sources for language study, and a PDF dictionary. Most information is compiled

with the help of Otoe-Missouria and Ioway elders. I have found Mr. Garrett's website to be helpful in making sense of the older resources from Merrill, Hamilton and Irvin, Gordon Marsh, James Owen Dorsey, and William Whitman. The dictionary often has an answer for me when the Otoe-Missouria Language Department's online dictionary does not. The dictionary includes sources in text, which is also incredibly helpful. The website can be of use at many levels of study and in different contexts (listening, writing, reading, speaking, etc).

Language Consultants – Fannie Grant, Joe Younge, Grace Kihega, Truman Dailey, Alice Sine, Robert Moore, and Franklin Murray with the help of Lila Wistrand-Robinson, PhD and Jimm Garrett Goodtracks

***Jiwele-Baxoje Wan'shige Ukenye Ich'e/Otoe-Iowa Indian Language Books I and II,*
published in Richmond, VA by the Christian Children's Fund in 1977 and 1978.**

These two language books created by tribal elders with help from Lila Wistrand-Robinson and Jimm Garrett Goodtracks serve as the most public and popular language learning materials amongst the generation that encountered them in the late 1970s and subsequent generations. Dr. Wistrand-Robinson held a PhD from the University of Texas at Austin and has published grammar books for other Indigenous languages such as Comanche. The books cover many topics such as the alphabet, conversational phrases, weather, animals, food, powwow clothing, day/time, flora/fauna, extensive grammar and drills, songs, hymns, and cultural knowledge. The books include accompanying audio which can be requested from the [Sam Noble Museum Native American Languages Collection](#) or [the Otoe-Missouria Language Department](#). This resource, although not written in the current orthography of the language, is suitable to use in classrooms for 4th

grade through to adult. The books are available for download on the Otoe-Missouria Language Department website. [Book 1](#) and [Book 2](#). The resources (books and audio) are suitable for interpretive reading and listening, and for increasing interpersonal communication. Drills and exercises in the books can also be useful for presentational writing and speaking.

William Whitman

***Descriptive Grammar of Ioway-Oto*, published in the International Journal of American Linguistics, volume 13, No. 4 in October 1947.**

This resource was one of the first that I used to start learning the grammar of Jiwere-Nut'achi/Baxoje. It helped create the foundation of my knowledge of how the language is structured and how to build verbs. It is relatively easy to understand but can feel incomplete at times. I would suggest that learners use this as an aid in understanding certain features of the language and not as a primary source from which to draw all of their understanding about the language.

Appendix C: Pronunciation Table and Linguistic Conventions

The following are how letters and sounds are written in Jiwere-Nut'achi for the purposes of this thesis. These may differ from the Otoe-Missouria Language Department's official orthography.

Symbol	IPA	Commentary
(...)		Indicates the English gloss of a word or phrase; ex. <i>wáruje</i> (table)
[...]		Used to show the pronunciation of a word; ex. <i>wáruje</i> [WAH-roo-jay]
,		(Apostrophe) Used to represent a glottal stop; ex. the catch in the English word <i>uh-oh</i> ; ex. <i>Náp'inje</i> [NAHP'-ee-n-jay] (Stillwater)
´		(Acute accent) Used to represent where a stress falls in a word, ex. <i>wáruje</i> (table) vs <i>waríje</i> (to eat something)
A a	ɑ	as in the English word father, the [ah] sound; ex. <i>ta</i> [tah] (deer)
Ą ą	ã	Nasalized A with ogonek; ex. <i>q̃nje</i> [AH _n N-jay] (his/her father)
B b	b b´	as in the English word boy; ex. <i>báje</i> [BAH-jay] (boat)
Ch ch	tʃ tʃ ^h tʃ ^ʷ	as in the English word chat; ex. <i>che</i> [chay] (buffalo)
D d	d	as in the English word dog; ex. <i>dówe</i> [DOH-way] (four)
E e	eɪ ɛ	as in the English word hay or jet, the [ay] or [eh] sound; ex. <i>wajé</i> [wah-JEH, wah-JAY] (dress)
G g	g	as in the English word great, sting, or go; ex. <i>wagrásge</i> [wah-GRAH _n -sgay] (frog)
H h	h	as in the English word hay; ex. <i>hásje</i> [HAH-sjay] (strawberry)
I i	i	as in the English word meet, the [ee] sound; ex. <i>bi</i> [bee] (moon/sun)
Į į	ĩ	Nasalized I with ogonek; ex. <i>įnje</i> [EE _n N-jay] (face)
J j	j dʒ	as in the English word jet; ex. <i>jédq</i> [JAY-dahn] (ocean)

K k	k k ^h k'	as in the English word kite or stink; ex. <i>kigráhi</i> [kee-GR AH-hee] (love oneself)
M m	m	as in the English word money; ex. <i>mánðexga</i> [MAH _n N-ðay-xgah] (money)
N n	n ɲ ŋ	as in the English word note; ex. <i>núwe</i> [NOOH-way] (two)
O o	ou	as in the English word toe, the [oh] sound; ex. <i>sgówe</i> [SGOH-way] (furry, fuzzy)
P p	p p ^h p'	as in the English word pot; ex. <i>pahìhi</i> [pah-hee _n -hee _n] (cactus, thorn)
R r	r	The “R” character represents a tap on the upper alveolar ridge (the small protrusion just behind the upper front teeth that can be felt with the tongue) and can lean towards an “L” or “D”; ex. <i>ruðe</i> [ROOH-ðay] (to take)
S s	s s'	as in the English word sack; ex. <i>ságwe</i> [SAH-gway] (six)
Sh sh	ʃ	as in the English word shout; ex. <i>shúwe</i> [SHOOH-way] (baby)
T t	t t ^h t'	as in the English word take; ex. <i>to</i> [toh] (blue)
Th th	θ θ'	as in the English word thing; this represents the voiceless ‘th,’ meaning that the speaker will not feel a vibration when they make the sound if they place their finger against their throat while speaking; ex. <i>thíngé</i> [THEENG-ay] (squirrel)
Ð ð	ð	Eth characters; The Eth character represents the “hard” th in English words such as that; The character is voiced, meaning that the speaker can feel the vibration when they make the sound if they

		place their finger against their throat while speaking; ex. <i>ðithéwe</i> [ðee-THAY-way] (orange)
U u	u	as in the English word stew, the [ooh] sound; ex. <i>súje</i> [SOOH-jay] (red)
Ů ů	ũ	Nasalized U with ogonek; ex. ‘ <i>u</i> ’ [‘OOH _n] (use, do, make, create)
W w	w	as in the English word win; ex. <i>wómąnke</i> [WOH-mah _n ng-kay] (easy)
X x	x x’	The X is like h in the English word hat, but made farther back in the throat, a guttural sound, like hocking a loogey; ex. <i>xáge</i> [XAH-gay] (cry)
Y y	ɣ	as in the English word yes; ex. <i>yáwe</i> [YAH-way] (stab)
,	ʔ	Used to denote a glottal stop; similar to the slight pause in the English exclamation ‘uh-oh’; ex. <i>u’sú’su</i> [ooh’-SOO _n ’-soo _n] (wrist)

Appendix D: Functional Communicative Context Example

Gráhi híxqhiwi to/ta – Let's talk about love

VOCABULARY

Jiwere-Nut'achi/Baxoje	Pronunciation	English
Sé'e wayére?	SEH'-eh wah-YEH-ray	Who is that? (near listener)
Dagwírígana?	dah-GWEE-ree-gah-nah	What is your name? (lit. What do they call you?)
_____ ínganye ke/ki.	_____ EEnNG-gah-nyay kay/kee.	My name is _____. (lit. They call me _____)
Dagwísa?	dah-GWEE-sah	What did you say?
Mìngrànge skunyi?	meenng-grahnn-geh skooh-nyee	Is he single? (about a man)
Warúxe skúnyi?	wah-ROO-xay SKOOH-nyee	Is she single? (about a woman)
Rithabéda ke/ki.	Ree-thah-BAY-dah kay/kee.	You are smart.
Nánje pi ke/ki.	NAH ⁿ N-jay pee kay/kee.	He/she has a kind heart.
Rípi ke/ki.	REE-pee kay/kee.	You are good.
I ùnkiwa re!	ee OOH ⁿ NG-kee-wah ray	Kiss me!
Ikíkich'e waráwe ritáwe ùnk'ù ho/ha.	ee-KEE-keech'ay wah-RAH-way ree-TAH-way OOH ⁿ NK'-ooh ⁿ hoh/hah	Give me your number (polite).
Dáarithga?	DAH-ree-thgah?	How are you?
Hìmpí skúnyi ke/ki.	hee ⁿ m-PEE SKOOH-nyee kay.	I'm bad/not good.
Dagúre ráji ragúnsda?	Dah-GOO-ray RAH-jee rah-GOO ⁿ N-sdah?	What do you want to eat?
Ihápahunge skúnyi ke/ki.	ee-HAH-pah-hooh ⁿ n-gay SKOOH-nyee kay/kee.	I don't know.
Dagúre rá'ù ragúnsda?	Dah-GOOH-ray RAH-ooh ⁿ rag-GOOH ⁿ N-sdah?	What do you want to do?
Rígrahi ke/ki.	REE-grah-hee kay/kee.	I love you.
Wehégrahi ke/ki.	way-HAY-grah-hee kay/kee.	I love them.
Hegráhi ke/ki.	hey-grah-hee kay/kee.	I love him/her.
Hínkígrahi ke/ki.	heenng-KEE-grah-hee kay/kee.	We (2) love each other.
Rí'e mítáwe ragúnsda?	REE'-eh meen-TAH-way rah-GOO ⁿ N-sdah	Do you want to be mine?

USING JIWERE IN REAL LIFE (IRL)

Imagine you are at an event with your friend. Someone you don't know (or remember) is speaking to her mother. You think he's cute and want to know more about him but don't want him to know, of course!

Hĩ + itar(o/a) +
my + (his/her) friend
"my friend"

Hĩ + yina2 + are + ki.
My + (her) older brother + he
is + female sentence ender
"He is my older brother."

Re- + gi'thu + skunyi?
You + remember + do not?
"Don't you remember?"

Jordan + ige + nye + ki.
(Name) + call him + they +
female sentence ender
"His name is Jordan."

Minge + grange + skunyi + ki.
Female + marry (of a man) +
not + female sentence
ender
"He's unmarried."

Thabeda + -sji + ki.
Smart + very + female
sentence ender
"He's very smart."

Nanje + pi + ki.
Heart + good + female
sentence ender
"He's good hearted."

Irosgagra + hnye + ki.
Say anything in jest, so as
to get a laugh on a person +
will + female sentence

••••• LTE 2:08 PM 75%

< Messages Hĩntaro Details

Se'e wayere? 🗨️

Hjyina are ki. Re'thu skunyi?

Cha! Dagwigana?

Jordan iganye ki.

Urage re. Mjngrange skunyi?

Mjngrange skunyi ki. Thabedasji ki. Nanje pi ki. Irosgagra hnye ki.

Ha...Aakipa hagunda ki.

Hunje 😊😊

iMessage Send

Hunje
Yes/affirmative
"Okay"

Se'e + waye + are
That (near) + who + (it) is
"Who is that?"

Cha! Dagu + ige + nye
Surprised intj. + What + they
call him (by a name)
"Psh! What's his name?"

Hĩ + urage + re.
me + tell about (it/him) +
imperative sentence ender
"Tell me about him."

Minge + grange + skunyi
Female + marry (of a man) +
not
"Is he unmarried?"

Ha + a- + ha- + kipa + ha- + gunra + ki.
Ok + I + meet (it/him) + I +
want (it) + female sentence
ender
"Ok...I want to meet him."

1. Hĩntara is the Baxoje form of 'my friend'; It has also been said that Hĩntara is the address form of 'my friend' (Greer)
2. Hjyina is used when a female identifying person is speaking about their older male brother. Hjyino is used when a male identifying person is speaking about their older male brother.